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THE

HANDWRITING OF JUNIUS

Professionally Investigated

BY

MR. CHARLES CHABOT,

EXPERT.

With Preface and Collateral Evidence

BY THE

HON. EDWARD TWISLETON.

98149

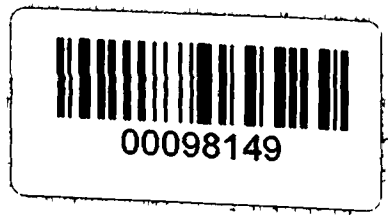
"Νοῦς ὁρῇ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει· τἄλλα κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά."

EPICHARMUS.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1871.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CORRIGENDA.

	For	*Read*
Page 11, line 4,	Cavendish	Cavendishes.
„ 16, „ 17,	Example No. 13	Example No. 13, Plate E.
„ 20, „ 22,	on	in.
„ 22, „ 32,	as already set forth	as set forth in pages 12 and 34.
„ 38, „ 6,	three first	first three.
„ 47, *note*	[Junius], 54.4	59.4.
„ 49, line 4,	Cavendish	Cavendishes.
„ 74, „ 26	Gerrard	Gerard.
„ 75, „ 23		
„ 76, „ 6		
„ 99, „ 28,	on	in.
„ 138, „ 9,	wrote	handwrote.
„ 141, „ 8,	MS.	MSS.
„ 161, „ 9,	capital letter	capital letters.
„ 161, „ 11,	capital letter	capital letters.
„ 191, „ 25	Gerrard	Gerard.
„ 192, „ 7		
„ 215, „ 15,	a similar termination	similar terminations.

PREFACE.

THE following investigation into the Handwriting of Junius is, to a considerable extent, the result of accidental circumstances. I had occasion in March, 1868, to consult Mr. Chabot,[1] the Expert, as to whether I should, or should not, be justified in stating that certain Anonymous Verses could be proved to be in the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis. Both external evidence of facts and the authority of competent persons seemed to combine in pointing to Francis as the penman of them; and my question was not so much whether he did, or did not, handwrite the Verses, as whether his having done so was, or was not, susceptible of proof. Mr. Chabot devoted two hours to a thorough examination of the question by comparing the Verses with numerous Letters of Sir Philip Francis; and eventually he pronounced an opinion not only that there was insufficient evidence to justify my making such a statement, but that he thought he could prove the direct negative; viz: that Francis did not, and could not, have handwritten them. In support of this opinion he pointed out numerous peculiarities in the Letters which were not in the Verses, and numerous peculiarities in the Verses which were not in the Letters; and, finally, regarding the two handwritings with an engraver's eye, in reference to the strokes of the turns or curves, as distinguished from the formation of the whole letters, he told me that if the two handwriters had solicited employment of him as engravers he should have accepted, indeed, the handwriter of the Letters, but that he should have felt some hesitation in so doing: whereas, in regard to accepting the handwriter of the Verses, he should have felt no hesitation at all.

Subsequently, under circumstances mentioned in the "Collateral Evidence,"

[1] Mr. Chabot is an Englishman, descended from one of the French families with which Louis XIV. enriched England by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He is by original profession a Lithographer; and he has, likewise, during the last sixteen years exercised the profession of a general Expert in handwriting.

the real handwriter of the Verses was discovered. Although not Sir Philip Francis himself, he was, as is there stated, Francis's cousin and familiar friend, Mr. Richard Tilghman.

As I had thus been enabled to test both the sagacity and the independence of Mr. Chabot, it occurred to me as probable that, if sufficient materials were placed at his disposal, he would be able to form a sound opinion on the much more important question whether Sir Philip Francis did, or did not, handwrite the Letters of Junius. For an investigation of this question unusually copious materials happened to be at his command. In regard to Francis, in order to enable me to compare the Franciscan handwriting with that of the Anonymous Verses above referred to, Mr. Merivale, one of the two authors of the 'Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis' (1867), had procured for me, from a granddaughter of Sir Philip Francis, a Letter-Book containing 42 original Letters written and sent by Francis to his brother-in-law or to his wife in the years from 1767 to 1771 inclusive. And in regard to Junius, not only had the Trustees of the British Museum recently purchased all the original Letters and writings of Junius in the possession of Mrs. Parkes, which had belonged first to Mr. Henry Dick Woodfall and afterwards to her late husband, Mr. Parkes, but I had also reason to know that Mr. William James Smith, editor of the 'Grenville Papers,' would readily give access to facsimiles which he had taken, with admirable fidelity, of many of those very same Manuscripts, as well as of the Letters of Junius to Mr. Grenville. Under these circumstances I ventured on the 12th of April, 1868, to give formal written instructions to Mr. Chabot that he should submit the handwriting of Junius to a searching comparison with the Letters of Sir Philip Francis, and should state, professionally, his opinion in writing whether the Letters of Francis and of Junius respectively were, or were not, written by the same hand.

I took occasion at the same time to point out to Mr. Chabot that the question which he was about to investigate had been long a subject of controversy, and that no expert in handwriting, however upright and able, could expect that his mere opinion on the subject, in whatever sense it might be pronounced, would remain unchallenged. I mentioned it, therefore, as a point of essential importance that he should state not only his opinion, but likewise the reasons for his opinion, with most copious details; so as to enable enquirers with intelligent and unprejudiced minds to form an independent opinion themselves on the soundness of his conclusions.

Subsequently, when Mr. Chabot had formed a definitive opinion on this subject, and had, in accordance with a request which I had made to him, notified this fact to me before drawing up a Report, I submitted for his consideration one or two minor questions. Above all, I specially requested him to report whether the negative could, or could not, be proved respecting Lady Temple and Lord George Sackville, as well as the affirmative respecting Sir Philip Francis. This request was suggested to me by what had passed respecting the Anonymous Verses, when Mr. Chabot had negatived Francis's claim before Tilghman had been discovered as their handwriter; and it seemed to me interesting to ascertain whether there were, or were not, any habits or peculiarities of writing in Lady Temple, or Lord George Sackville, which appeared to Mr. Chabot incompatible, or not easily to be reconciled, with habits or peculiarities in the handwriting of Junius.

The result is contained in the two following Reports, which should be read consecutively, as each throws important light on the other; and the strongest points of similarity between Francis and Junius are made still stronger by contrasts between Junius and the principal competitors with Francis. Together the two Reports constitute, by example, a fund of most valuable information respecting the method which should be followed in the comparison of handwritings.

In many respects these Reports speak for themselves. It is proper, however, to point out one peculiar feature by which they are distinguished. As far as is known, they are the only instance in which an expert has deliberately published the result of his investigations into the handwriting of Junius and Francis; and, most undoubtedly, they are the only instance in which any such expert has written professionally, and subscribed his name to his opinion. Still, although Mr. Chabot has written his Reports under professional responsibility, and they thus deserve to be read with more than ordinary attention, he is desirous—and I publish his Reports with the same desire—that his conclusions should in no respect be accepted on grounds of mere authority, but that they should be judged of entirely by the reasons which he advances in their behalf. It is important to bear this in mind, for it is the practice of inferior advocates in Courts of Justice, when evidence on handwriting is given contrary to the interest of their clients, to indulge in rhetorical declamations against experts; and the same practice is sometimes adopted by others who have not the same excuse for desiring to avoid rational discussion. When all the reasons for an expert's

opinion have been pointed out in detail objectively, declamations of this kind must be classed with "the abuse of the plaintiff's attorney" as the last resource of incapacity, or of conscious weakness: though they may be palliated in a Court of Justice by the necessities of an advocate's profession, which occasionally compel him to make a speech when he knows his cause is a bad one, and to argue, even when his cause is a good one, on subjects requiring special knowledge, which, from the numerous demands on his faculties, he cannot be expected thoroughly to understand. But, in the present instance, in which there is no compulsion on any one to write or speak on this subject, all such declamations are destitute of any reasonable excuse; as not only are the conclusions of Mr. Chabot based on objective proofs, but the amplest materials are, likewise, provided for the use of those who may be willing to have recourse to reasoning on the other side. In this case, even more than in reference to the original remark, the answer deserves to be remembered, which, according to Boswell, was once made by Dr. Johnson to a gentleman who said that he paid no regard to the arguments of counsel at the bar of the House of Commons because they were paid for speaking.—"Nay, Sir," said Dr. Johnson, "argument "is argument. You cannot help paying regard to their arguments if they are "good. If it were testimony, you might disregard it, if you knew that it were "purchased. There is a beautiful image in Bacon on this subject; testimony is "like an arrow shot from a long bow, the force of it depends on the strength "of the hand that draws it. Argument is like an arrow from[1] a cross-bow, "which has equal force, though shot by a child." Now, if this is true of counsel at the bar of the House of Commons, whose strict professional duty, as commonly understood, is not so much to argue soundly as to argue persuasively, and in whom it is permissible to argue sophistically, with appeals to the passions, if they can thus the better promote the interest of their clients; it is much more true in the present case, in which any appeal to the passions is precluded by the nature of the subject matter, and in which the expert's highest professional duty coincides with his highest professional interest in demanding that he should

[1] The passage in Dr. Johnson's mind had been printed by him in his Dictionary under the word "cross-bow" as taken from *Boyle*. The exact words are, "Testimony is like the shot of "a long bow, which owes its efficacy to the "force of the shooter; argument is like the "shot of the cross-bow, equally forcible whether "discharged by a giant or a dwarf."

merely ascertain the simple truth, and aim at making that truth as convincing to others as it is to himself.

In conformity with the same principles, it seems not unreasonable to suggest that any one who may proclaim his dissent from the conclusions of Mr. Chabot should set forth fully, in detail, the reasons for his own opinions. On the 21st of January, 1869,[1] it was precisely one hundred years since the Letter was published under the signature of Junius, which, in its consequences, first made that name celebrated. Since the original publication of that Letter, the name of the author has been a subject of controversy; many persons have committed themselves to strong opinions in regard to one competitor or another; and the fact of handwriting is a point of importance in the question of authorship. Now, except in men of unusually high moral natures, who love truth above all things, there is no passion or interested motive—neither love, nor hate, nor scorn, nor resentment, nor religious enthusiasm, nor religious fanaticism, nor direct bribery, nor the advocate's retaining fee—which has a stronger influence on opinion, or, at least, the profession of opinion, than the remembrance present to the mind of a controversialist, that he has committed himself dogmatically in writing to particular views on a disputed fact. If new evidence is adduced unfavourable to those views, it often happens that the unhappy victim of his own rashness is haunted by the ghosts of his own words, and becomes agitated by the fear that he may have made himself an object of derision:—

> "Sacred to ridicule his whole life long,
> And the sad burden of some merry song."

The effect of this fear on minds cast in a common mould may be predicted with nearly the same certainty as the influence of gravitation on matter; and, even on men with the noblest minds and clearest moral discernment, it may operate with a bias of which they themselves are unconscious. But, if reasons for conclusions are fully stated for the judgment of others, it becomes irrelevant to enter into a scrutiny of a writer's motives; and the question is withdrawn from the

[1] The author had published a letter with the signature of Junius on the 21st November, 1768; but he himself did not afterwards reprint it. In August and September of the same year, he had published eight Letters signed, "Lucius," and in October two signed "Brutus." The explanation of the signature "Junius" seems simply to be that it completed the name of "Lucius Junius Brutus."

circle of ignoble personalities and illiberal reflections on particular classes of men into the higher region of intellectual enquiry, observation, and argument.

And for an enquiry of this kind the present work affords peculiar facilities in copious facsimiles from the writings both of Francis and Junius. With such a mass of materials, if the two handwriters were not identical, any one with moderate abilities, and with some experience in matters of this kind, ought to be able to *prove* that they were different. Even the method to be pursued in adducing such proof is indicated by example in Mr. Chabot's second Report, in which he negatives the claims of Lady Temple and Lord George Sackville. It is true that here, according to the hypothesis, the real handwriter has, in fact, been discovered. Hence an unusually rich armoury of arguments is placed at Mr. Chabot's disposal, as there is now a double improbability—1st, that Lady Temple or Lord George Sackville should, for the sake of disguise, have adopted habits of handwriting seemingly incompatible with their own; and then, 2ndly, that, as the form of such disguise, they should have hit by accident upon the peculiar habits of Francis. But still, even if the handwriting of Francis had not been in existence, the inference, though not absolutely so conclusive, would have been sufficiently strong against his competitors. And, in contradiction of the positive evidence adduced by Mr. Chabot, it is now open to any enquirer, who understands the correct principles of investigation, to point out, if he can, any discrepancy between Francis and Junius in their habits of writing, which cannot be accounted for by the adoption of a disguised hand.

In order to give every inducement for investigation, by competent persons, into the question of handwriting, I advisedly abstain, on the present occasion, from entering into detailed arguments on the question of authorship, except as far as the latter point may be involved in the former. I do not, indeed, affect to doubt that, if Francis was the handwriter, he was likewise the author of the Junian Letters. The chief reason for keeping the two points separate, is, that those who are most competent to discuss the question of handwriting are not the most competent to discuss the question of authorship; and those whose opinions on the authorship would claim the highest respect would by no means be necessarily good judges in the comparison of handwritings. To take, for example, two statesmen and two historians, who have passed away since the publication of 'Junius Identified,' and who accepted the conclusions of that work:—Mr. Wilberforce, Earl Grey (of the Reform Bill), Mr. Hallam, and Lord Macaulay. Great weight would reasonably be attached to their con-

current opinion that Sir Philip Francis was the author of Junius. The two first, eminent as speakers in an age of great orators, were in the House of Commons with Francis[1] during the whole, or nearly the whole, of his parliamentary career; the two last, men of transcendent ability, thoroughly trained in classical studies, and possessing, though in different degrees, acquaintance with the literature of foreign nations, were specially conversant with English literature, English history, and the English language. But, in the mere assertion of an opinion that Sir Philip Francis was the handwriter of the Junian Letters, not one of those distinguished men would be as great an authority as an inspector of franks, before the privilege of franking was abolished, or a general expert in handwriting during the comparatively few years that any one belonging to this profession has been known in this country. On the other hand, there is no necessary connexion between skill in the comparison of handwritings and the literary knowledge which should be possessed by any one who would form an independent judgment on the authorship of Junius. This problem, except as far as the solution of it may be involved in the question whether the Junian Manuscripts were penned by an amanuensis, lies outside the frontier-line which bounds the province of Mr. Chabot and Mr. Netherclift. Here their jurisdiction ceases, their writ does not run. Now modest and veracious men, whose contributions towards the elucidation of handwriting would be most valuable, might be deterred from entering into the subject at all, if it were mixed up with literary questions respecting which they might not feel themselves competent to form a decided opinion, but which would be likely to expose them to insult from the irritable self-love of authors. Hence truth may be best promoted by confining this work almost exclusively to an investigation into the handwriting of Junius.

[1] Mr. Wilberforce had been already in Parliament when Francis entered it, after the dissolution of 1784. In his efforts for the abolition of the slave trade, he had the strenuous support of Francis. Earl Grey, as Mr. Grey, entered Parliament in 1785; and as one of the managers of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, saw much of Francis when he was in his strength, as well as afterwards, when Francis was in his declining years. Mr. Wilberforce's opinion respecting Junius is known through his son, the Bishop of Winchester; Earl Grey's through his son, the present Earl Grey, and through Earl Russell. The opinion of Mr. Hallam during the last sixteen years of his life, is known through Earl Stanhope. Lord Macaulay has left on record his opinion, not only in his powerful article on Warren Hastings, but also in his letter to Mr. John Murray, published in the appendix to Lord Stanhope's 'History of England' (vol. v. page xxxi), edition of 1858.

At the same time, to make intelligible the precise bearing of the handwriting on the authorship, it may be remarked that the knowledge of who was the handwriter would be conclusive as to who was the author for any one who entertains a strong conviction of the truth of any one of the four following propositions:—1st. That the known character of the handwriter forbids the supposition of his having submitted during four or five years to be the amanuensis of another author. 2ndly. That Junius, in his Dedication to the English Nation, would not have volunteered[1] the assertion that he was the sole depositary of his own secret, if all the while he had put himself in the power of another person by making use of him as an amanuensis. 3rdly. That the private Letters of Junius to Woodfall, and the corrections in the proof sheets bear internal marks of having been written, not by an amanuensis, but by the author himself. 4thly. That, independently of handwriting, the evidence which points to the handwriter as the author is so strong, standing alone, that although it may possibly not be conclusive, it justifies vehement suspicion, and attains a high degree of moral probability. Each reader must judge for himself whether one or more of these propositions commands his assent. For any one who believes in the truth of all the four, it would be idle to undervalue the strength of moral conviction as to the authorship, which must arise from the fact of the

[1] See Plate 17.—"If I am a vain man, my "gratification lies within a narrow circle. I am "the sole depositary of my own secret, and it "shall perish with me." This is of more importance than any statement in his private Letters, though these contain passages to the same general effect. Thus, addressing Mr. Grenville, he says of the Letter signed "Atticus:" "It may be proper to assure you that no man "living knows or even suspects the author" (see Plate 6). In his private Letters to Mr. Wilkes, he writes: "If views of interest or ambition could tempt me to betray my own "secret, how could I flatter myself that the man "I trusted would not act upon the same principles, and sacrifice me at once to the king's "curiosity and resentment?" Again, "Besides "every personal consideration, if I were known, "I could be no longer an useful servant to the "public. At present, there is something oracular "in the delivery of my opinions. I speak from a "recess which no human curiosity can penetrate, "and darkness, we are told, is one source of the "sublime. The mystery of Junius increases his "importance." (See Letters No. 66 and 70.) Some passages convey a different meaning, though, verbally, not irreconcilable with the passages already quoted. "The Truth is, there "are people about me whom I would wish not "to contradict, and who had rather see Junius in "the papers ever so improperly than not at all." —No. 8 (Plate 32). "I beg you will to-morrow "advertise, *Junius to another Duke in our next.*— "You shall have it some time to-morrow night. "It cannot be corrected and copied sooner."— No. 9 (Plate 33). "The inclosed, though begun "within these few days, has been greatly "laboured. It is very correctly copied."—No. 24 (Plate 49). "The gentleman who transacts "the Conveyancing part of our Correspondence "tells me there was much difficulty last night." —No. 51 (Plate 75).

handwriter having been definitively ascertained. And, at the very lowest, if Francis was the handwriter, this throws out of competition with him for the authorship every individual candidate in regard to whom it cannot be shown that he was more competent and more likely than Francis to have composed the Junian Letters, and that he might possibly have made use of Francis as his amanuensis.

SOURCES FROM WHICH THE FACSIMILES WERE DERIVED.

I now proceed to give an account of the sources from which the facsimiles in this volume were derived; adding, where it seems advisable, a few observations. These facsimiles may be conveniently classed under the following heads:—1st, Junius—which extends from Plate 1 to Plate 103 inclusive; 2ndly, Francis—which extends from Plate 105 to Plate 212; and, 3rdly, Miscellaneous, which extends from Plate 215 to Plate 267. Of these in their order.

I. JUNIUS.—First come, in Plates 1–12, the three Letters from the author of Junius to Mr. Grenville (*b.* 1712, *d.* 1770), followed by the Essay on an "Auction "Duty," which was sent with the first of those Letters. The originals belong to Mr. John Murray, to whom I am much indebted for his liberality in having unconditionally permitted me at an early stage of this investigation to cause the whole of them to be photographed. This permission was ultimately of extreme importance to Mr. Chabot, for it enabled him to have the facsimiles under his eye, and to study them leisurely through a long period of time, during which it would have been unreasonable for him to have detained in his possession original manuscripts of such great value. They have been already printed in the 'Grenville Papers;' and Mr. Murray, the publisher of that work, purchased them from the late Duke of Buckingham, who was great-grandson and direct representative of Mr. Grenville in the male line. Peculiar interest attaches to these Letters because they were written shortly before the author obtained celebrity, and made enemies, under the signature and in the character of Junius; and they thus belong to a period when it had not yet become for him, morally, a matter of life and death that he should remain concealed. Hence they give more information respecting himself personally than it is likely he would have ventured to give afterwards. They exhibit various degrees of disguise in

handwriting. As is pointed out by Mr. Chabot, the first Letter is the most disguised, the second is less so, and the third Letter approaches more nearly to the natural hand of Francis than any extant specimen of the Junian writing. Perhaps, at the date of this last Letter, the penman had ceased to feel alarm lest Mr. Grenville should inadvertently betray him, by showing his Letters to any third person.

Additional interest attaches to these Letters, and to the Essay, from the circumstance that, with two exceptions, Mr. William James Smith took from them all the facsimiles on which he based his opinion that the Junian handwriting was penned by Lady Temple. Mr. Chabot, although he dissents from Mr. Smith's inferences respecting Lady Temple, deems him perfectly correct in assuming that the Letters to Mr. Grenville, and the Letters to Woodfall, were from the hand of the same person; and he desires to place on record adequate reasons to justify Mr. Smith's opinion in this respect. He would point out, therefore, that the very first Letter of Junius to Woodfall (Plate 23) is amply sufficient to prove unbroken continuity between the two series of Letters. In it Mr. Chabot immediately identifies the salutation "Sir," written with a long *S*, and punctuated with a fullstop, as it stands in the two first Letters to Mr. Grenville; and likewise the signature *C*, between two dashes, which is appended to those Letters. He then points out the peculiar termination of the words "reflecting" and "resisting" in the third Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 6, line 12), which is distinctly reproduced in the word "giving" in the first Letter to Woodfall (Plate 23, line 4); and, again, the two final letters *se* in the word "choose," Plate 6, line 5, which are clearly represented in lines 2 and 3 of Plate 23. Moreover, he would call attention to a peculiar mode of writing the word "which" with a docked *h*, as it occurs more than twenty times[1] in the Letters and Essay sent to Mr. Grenville, and then reappears at once in the very first Letter to Woodfall, in the first line. Nearly every word in that Letter, Mr. Chabot asserts, can be more or less illustrated in a similar manner, but he regards the points of identity above specified as fully sufficient to establish the continuity in the handwriting of the two series of Letters.

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[1] The word "which" occurs in the following twenty-four instances in the three Letters and the Essay, and the *h* is docked in more than twenty of those instances:—Plate 1, line 14; Plate 2, line 4; Plate 3, lines 5, 11; Plate 5, line 7; Plate 6, line 5; Plate 7, lines 1, 5, 17; Plate 8, lines 1, 4, 8, 9, 19; Plate 9, line 15; Plate 10, lines 11, 14, 15, 16; Plate 11, lines 3, 6, 7, 10; Plate 12, line 6.

The two Plates 13 and 14, which contain specimens of the handwriting of the two Letters addressed by the author of Junius to Lord Chatham, are photo-lithographs, taken from lithograph facsimiles in the 4th volume of the 'Chatham Correspondence.' The whole of the two Letters have been printed in that work. The originals belong to Mrs. Pringle, widow of the late Colonel Pringle, one of the editors, who was great-grandson of Lord Chatham; but, notwithstanding the most obliging good will of the possessor, they are, unfortunately, at present not accessible. The second Letter, dated 14th: January. 1772, is actually signed "Junius," and precisely agrees with the Junian handwriting of the same period. The first Letter, dated 2d: January. 1768, is regarded by Mr. Chabot as the specimen of the whole Junian series in the volume, in which the writer best disguised his natural hand. Nearly every letter in it, however, can be identified, Mr. Chabot says, in the Essay on the Auction Duty (Plates 7–12). Moreover, he regards it as a good illustration of the Junian habit to avoid forming the letter *h* with a loop after the letter *s*. In the seven lines of the specimen the letter *h* has been written with a loop fourteen times; yet in each of the only three instances in which it follows the letter *s*, it is written without a loop. Again, he points out, as in the Letters to Mr. Grenville, the characteristic fullstop after the salutation, and the dating of the Letter, written in conformity to the plan followed in dating the three Letters to Mr. Grenville, and the second Letter to Lord Chatham. Mr. Chabot, therefore, does not doubt that the editors of the 'Chatham Correspondence' judged correctly in publishing this Letter of the 2nd of January, 1768, as a genuine Junian Letter. It is possible that the extra pains taken by Francis to disguise his hand in it may have arisen from his having acted occasionally just before he came of age, *i.e.* from January to October, 1761, as amanuensis to Lord Chatham. Although more than seven years had intervened since that time, he may, almost instinctively, have been more on his guard in writing anonymously to his former chief, at whose dictation he had penned despatches, than in writing anonymously to Mr. Grenville, to whom he seems to have been personally unknown.

With the exception of the facsimiles from the Letters to Mr. Grenville and Lord Chatham respectively, and three other specimens which will be mentioned in their place, all the facsimiles of Junius are from originals in the British Museum, which I have been enabled, by the enlightened liberality of the Trustees, to cause to be photographed. Those originals belonged first to Mr. Henry

Sampson Woodfall, the printer of the 'Public Advertiser,' to whom Junius gave the copyright of all his works, and to whom all his private Letters were confidentially addressed. At the death, in 1805, of Mr. H. S. Woodfall, all his Junian Manuscripts became the property of his son, Mr. George Woodfall, by whom they were printed with the exception of two suppressed passages, in Woodfall's 'Junius,' in 1812. On the death, in 1844, of Mr. George Woodfall, they descended to his son, Mr. Henry Dick Woodfall, who sold them to the late Mr. Joseph Parkes, one of the authors of the 'Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis;' and after the death of Mr. Joseph Parkes, Mrs. Parkes, his widow, sold them in March, 1868, to the Trustees of the British Museum. Mr. Henry Dick Woodfall himself died subsequently at Nice, in March, 1869.

From the originals in the British Museum it was necessary to make some selection; and I deemed it best to make a sacrifice of the greater part of the Dedication to the English Nation, and of the Preface; contenting myself with giving facsimiles of the beginning and the conclusion of each of those documents (see Plates 17–20). Less is lost to the public in this way than in any other, as the Dedication and the Preface are penned throughout in the same style, and are very fairly represented by the few extracts from them. On the other hand, the Letter signed "Vindex" (Plates 15 and 16) is reproduced entire, with a suppressed passage, which is now published for the first time. It illustrates the eagerness of Junius to precipitate a war with Spain on the question of the Falkland Islands, and is ferociously bitter against George III., who is stigmatised as a coward. No harm can result to the reputation of George III. from such a charge, inasmuch as it is certain, whatever may have been his intellectual defects, that he was a king of undaunted courage and resolution. The suppressed passage, which commences with the words "and our gracious Sovereign," at the close of Plate 15, is alluded to by Junius in his Letter to Woodfall, Plate 58, in the following passage: "As to the satyrical part (sic) I must tell you "(and with positive certainty) that our gracious —— is as callous as Stockfish "to everything but the reproach of cowardice. That alone is able to set the "humours afloat. After a paper of that kind he wont eat meat for a week."

Plates 21 and 22 contain the Letter from Junius to Lord Barrington, signed "Scotus," which was printed in the 'Public Advertiser,' of Monday, May 4, 1772. Allusion is made to it in the Letter of Junius to Woodfall, Plate 86, in which he writes: "The proceedings of this wretch are unaccountable.—Next to the Duke "of Grafton, I verily believe that the blackest heart in the kingdom belongs to

" Lord Barrington." If the private Letters to Woodfall left any room for doubt that Junius was the author of the Letters attacking Lord Barrington, which are published among 'Junius's Miscellaneous Letters,' such doubt would be removed by the handwriting of "Scotus." It is proper to bear in mind that the new information given by Mr. George Woodfall to the public in 1812 that Junius wrote those Letters first led to the suspicion that Francis was Junius.[1]

Next follow, from Plate 23 to Plate 88, inclusive, all the sixty-three private Letters of Junius to Woodfall. The original Letters marked No. 2, No. 6, and No. 12, are not with the other Letters in the British Museum; and it is not precisely known where they are at present. To make the series in this work complete, No. 2 and No. 6 have been photo-lithographed from the engraved facsimiles in Woodfall's 'Junius;' and No. 12, with the obliging permission of Messrs. Longmans, has been photo-lithographed from a lithograph in the 2nd volume of the 'Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis.' With these three exceptions, the whole series of Letters from Junius to Woodfall has been photo-lithographed from the originals. As some words, however, in No. 41, the Letter of Junius to Garrick, have been damaged in the original, a photo-lithograph has been given, not only from that original in its proper place, but likewise, in Plate 89, from the engraved facsimile in Woodfall's 'Junius.' Great stress has been laid on the penmanship of this Letter, as if it were superior to any specimen of the handwriting of Francis. Some excellent judges, however, deem it slightly inferior to the specimen of Francis's penmanship in Plate 186. Readers have now a good opportunity to form an opinion for themselves on this point.

The facsimiles of Junius terminate with Plates 91–103, which are photo-lithographs from the Proof Sheets of what is called the "Author's Edition" of his Letters. A minute examination of these plates will be useful to any one who wishes to form an opinion whether the corrections in them were or were not made by an amanuensis, as distinguished from the author. But, independently of this point, they present some very interesting peculiarities which require explanation.

In Plate 95, the date of the Letter to Dr. William Blackstone, viz. 29. July.

[1] The particular passage, which first led Mr. Taylor, the author of 'Junius Identified,' to reflect whether Sir Philip Francis might not be Junius, was the following, in the Letter signed "Veteran," which was dated 23rd March, 1772:— "I desire you will inform the Public that the "worthy Lord Barrington, not contented with "having driven Mr. D'Oyly out of the War "Office, has at last contrived to expel Mr. "Francis."

1769, is written in ink; but it will be seen to be in a different hand from the word "yourself," and from the note in the same plate. That note and that word are in the handwriting of Junius—but in whose hand is the date? Mr. Chabot, in examining the Proof Sheets, observed this date, and came to the conclusion that it was simply in the natural hand of Francis. That he was correct in this seems scarcely to admit of controversy. If any one will turn to the 1st page of two Letters of Francis in Plates 140 and 143, he will see two dates, 5. July. 1769. and 20. July. 1769.; each with three fullstops, as in 29. July. 1769; and each so closely approximating to that date in the formation of letters and numerals as to leave no reasonable doubt that all three were penned by the same hand. For purposes of comparison they have all been brought together, in engraved facsimiles, by Mr. Chabot, in his Report (page 131); but it is desirable that they should be likewise inspected in their original position in the photo-lithographs.

This very important observation led Mr. Chabot to scrutinise narrowly certain obliterations at the head of other Letters in the Proof Sheets, where dates have been written in the Junian hand. It so happened that he had acquired considerable skill in reading what is concealed behind obliterations through his experience in connection with the Probate Court; by which, if a will contains any unattested obliteration, probate is not granted, unless some adept has examined it, and has made a declaration as to what can and cannot be read behind it. The result of his scrutiny was to convince Mr. Chabot that what had been written in each case behind the obliteration was merely the identical date in the undisguised hand of Francis which is now seen in its neighbourhood in the hand of Junius. To illustrate this point, seven pages with obliterated dates have been photo-lithographed. Of these, the date of which the veil is the most transparent is in Plate 91. Mr. Chabot, in page 131, lifts the veil, and gives a facsimile of the "21. January. 1769" behind it; but even in the photo-lithograph, that date can be sufficiently followed, as he represents it. The *J* and the *y* of the "January" are distinctly visible, and so are the three last numerals of 1769; with a tag appended to the 6, which is palpably ineffectual to disguise it. Moreover, the slope is unmistakably different from the slope of the Junian date. Nearly similar remarks apply to the date 18th March, 1769, and to the letters *rafton* in the word "Grafton," in page 92. These two syllables and the two dates, joined to Francis's unobliterated date of 29th July, 1769, will probably be sufficient to convince the majority of readers that the

hand of Francis is visible on the Proof Sheets. Any one who requires additional evidence and is competent to investigate the subject independently, should gratify his curiosity in the British Museum, with the aid of the indications supplied by Mr. Chabot in pages 129–131.

On the last of the Proof Sheets of Junius in this volume, Plate 103, will be seen a note which is now published for the first time. It shows the animosity of Junius against the Princess of Wales, mother of George III., who was then slowly dying of a cancer. He says of her, "Nothing keeps her alive but the "horrible Suction of Toads[1]:—Such an instance of divine Justice would convert "an Atheist." Woodfall would probably not have printed the note under any circumstances; but it had ceased to be applicable when the work was published, in the beginning of March, 1772. The Princess was then insensible to blame or praise, having died on the 8th of February in that year.

In closing these remarks on the facsimiles under the head of Junius, it is proper to mention that the Essay on the Auction Duty, the Letter signed "Vindex," and the Letter to Lord Barrington, signed "Scotus," are all three, in the originals, written on folio sheets of paper. In the photo-lithographs they have all been brought into the quarto form, in order to avoid the inconvenience and eventual disfigurement which sometimes arises from its being requisite in a work to fold up letters, maps, and other documents which must be frequently opened for purposes of reference. This reduction of form, however, does not make the slightest difference in the handwriting, either as to the size of the letters, or as to the distance between the lines. In fact, it makes scarcely any difference whatever, except that there is not throughout an exact agreement between the originals and the photo-lithographs as to the beginnings and the endings of pages.

II. Francis.—After the facsimiles of the handwriting of Junius, there follow,

[1] This agrees with a passage in a Letter of Junius to Woodfall, Plate 70. "I tell you she "suckles toads from morning till night." I am indebted to Professor Newton of Cambridge for an explanation of these two passages. During a certain period of last century live toads were applied as a supposed cure, or as a relief, to cancered breasts. In the 3rd volume of Pennant's 'Zoology,' page 389, edition of 1776, a Letter is published, bearing date "Exon, August "29, 1768," in which the process is described to Dr. Lyttelton, the then Bishop of Carlisle, by Mr. Pitfield, a medical eye-witness. The toad was put into a linen bag, all but its head; and that was held to the sore, which the animal sucked greedily. A woman, supposed to have been cured in this way, was said to have had toads on her day and night, without intermission, for five weeks. Numerous other details are mentioned in the Letter, which is worth reading.

in Plates 105–212, facsimiles of the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis (*b.* 1740, *d.* 1818). The main source of these facsimiles is a Letter Book, marked Volume IV., which belonged originally to Sir Philip himself, and which is now the property of his grandchildren, who conceded to me the right of causing facsimiles to be taken of as many Letters in it as I pleased. This Letter Book, which is now in the custody of Miss Francis, Sir Philip's eldest granddaughter, contains two original Letters, written by him in August, 1767, to his first wife, and forty Letters written by him, in the years 1767–1771, to her brother and his brother-in-law, Mr. Alexander Mackrabie. This gentleman, in the summer of 1767, had left England for America, where he became the managing clerk of a commercial house in Philadelphia. Francis, to whom no one can deny the praise of his having been an admirable brother-in-law, kept up a constant correspondence with him; writing to him, with rare exceptions, once a month. Mackrabie returned to England, in 1772, and when Francis sailed for Calcutta, in 1774, as Member of the new Council in India, he took his brother-in-law with him as his private secretary. In March, 1775, Mackrabie was appointed Sheriff of Calcutta, and, by virtue of his office, was present at the execution of Nuncomar. In reference to Núncomar, Lord Macaulay, in his article on Warren Hastings, states, "The Sheriff, with the humanity which is seldom "wanting in an English gentleman, visited the prisoner on the eve of the exe- "cution, and assured him that no indulgence consistent with the law should "be refused to him." He then relates what passed at the interview, and adds, "The Sheriff withdrew greatly agitated by what had passed, and Nuncomar sat "composedly down to write notes and examine accounts." This Sheriff was Mackrabie, who had more than ordinary reasons for being agitated by what he had seen, and by what was impending; and who thus, on one occasion, becomes connected with an important historical event. The climate, however, disagreed with him, and shortly after he had received from England, through the exertions of Francis, the appointment of a Writership in India, he left Calcutta, on a sea-voyage for the benefit of his health, in August, 1776, and died on the coast of Orissa[1] in November of the same year. At his death, the Letters which

[1] These details are taken from the 'Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis' by Mr. Parkes and Mr. Merivale (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1867). The appendix to the 1st volume of that work contains twenty-two Letters written to Francis by Mackrabie, while absent from England, between 1767 and 1770 inclusive.

he had received in America from Francis, probably came again into Francis's possession, as executor or otherwise; and they were ultimately bound up with others, including numerous Letters from Mackrabie to Francis, in the Letter Book, Volume IV. Of all the forty-two Letters from Francis in that book, the 1st page at least has been photo-lithographed for this work, and, in many instances, the whole Letter. These Letters are not all in their exact chronological order. This has mainly arisen from the plan of the work, as to the number of the Letters to be photographed, having been enlarged after its commencement. The aim has been that the original of every facsimile introduced by Mr. Chabot into the body of his Report should, as far as possible, be seen photo-lithographed in its place in this volume. The number of departures from this principle is very limited.

It will be seen that the last seven plates, marked 206–212, are merely the 1st pages of seven distinct Letters. The special reason why these were photo-lithographed was to give readers an opportunity to verify for themselves what is stated in Mr. Chabot's Reports respecting the habits of Francis in the salutations and datings of Letters. As to the salutations, forty-one out of forty-two of Francis's Letters in the Letter Book have a fullstop after them. The habits of different persons differ in this respect. Some put a comma, a few put a fullstop, a very few put a semicolon, and the great majority of writers put no stop at all, after the salutation. Others do not follow any fixed rule, but sometimes put no stop, sometimes put a fullstop, and sometimes put a comma. What was remarkable in Francis was his settled habit of marking his salutations with a fullstop. On scrutinising Junius with a knowledge of this habit, it will be found that in this volume there are twenty-five salutations of Junius; that he placed after every one of them either a fullstop or a line of separation; that he substituted the line of separation in seven instances only, which are in informal Letters to his printer; while in twelve other Letters to his printer, and in all his formal Letters, such as the three Letters to Mr. Grenville, the first Letter to Lord Chatham, the Letter signed "Vindex," and the Letter signed "Scotus," a fullstop invariably follows the salutation. Again, as to the datings, attention should be specially directed to what Mr. Chabot states in page 122 respecting the nine points which are found in combination in datings of Junius, and which are likewise found combined, as is shown in page 126, in datings of Francis. These nine points combined are so very peculiar that, although I have carefully examined more than 3000 Letters, either in the 'Grenville Papers' which belong to Mr. Murray, or in the 'Anson Papers,'

the 'Rippon Papers,' and other collections of the same kind which are in the British Museum, I have never seen those points united in any writer except Junius and Francis. One or two Letters very *nearly* combined the same peculiarities; and it is possible that if every single Letter in existence of the Junian period were submitted to a searching scrutiny, a few complete parallels might be discovered. When any such Letter is brought to light, it will be interesting to know whether it has likewise a fullstop after the salutation, and to ascertain how many other coincidences with the Junian handwriting may be observed in its contents.

In addition to the whole or part of forty-two Letters of Francis in the Letter Book, this work contains a facsimile, in photo-lithographs, of the whole of two Letters from Francis to his first wife; one bearing date the 14th of July, 1770, and the other the 24th of October, 1782 (Plates 181 and 184). The originals are in the possession of Miss Francis, to whom I am indebted for her kind permission to photo-lithograph them. They contain all the points in the Datings and Openings of Letters to which Mr. Chabot has so elaborately directed attention in pages 121–129. The signatures to them should be examined in connection with Francis's signature to his Letter of the 3rd of May, 1769 (Plate 180), and with two signatures in Plate 185, which are photo-lithographed from engraved facsimiles in 'Junius Identified.' The drift of such examination will easily be perceived by any one who is acquainted with the ordinary signature of Junius when he signed at all otherwise than under the name of Junius, or under an assumed name. There are two instances of his signature in the three Letters to Mr. Grenville, and thirty in his sixty-three private Letters to Woodfall. In every instance except the one in Plate 60, in which the upper dash has been omitted, his signature was the letter *C*[1] between two dashes, one above and one below. Francis during the Junian period sometimes signed merely *P. F.*, the two initial letters of his own name, though he did not habitually write them between two dashes. The first instance with dashes occurs in a Letter dated the 3rd of

[1] The origin of the initial *C* is a mere matter of conjecture. If Mr. William James Smith and Mr. Parkes are correct in attributing the 'Candor Pamphlets' to Junius, it seems most probable that the letter *C* was adopted as the initial of the feigned name under which the author of Junius first wrote anything which commanded general attention. Mr. Parkes traced the *C* backwards in the files of the 'Public Advertiser.' The earliest instance of this initial is annexed to a Letter dated the 11th of November, 1765—and the Letter of this date was reprinted in the 3rd edition of 'The Father of Candor's Pamphlet.' (See 'Memoirs of Sir P. Francis,' vol. i. page 95.)

May, 1769 (Plate 180), and there is another in the Letter dated the 14th of July, 1770 (Plate 182). These instances, which are absolutely contemporaneous with the Junian Letters, are the most deserving of attention. The suggestion is that Francis consciously, or unconsciously, imported into the signature of his own initials the habit of adding the two dashes which he had previously acquired as Junius in signing with the letter *C*. In regard to the Letter dated the 3rd of May, 1769, it is interesting to observe that it was written only two days before the private Letter of Junius to Woodfall, No. 2, the date of which, though in the original merely "friday," is correctly given in Woodfall's 'Junius' as Friday the 5th of May, 1769. Francis signed his initials *P. F.* between two dashes on the Wednesday, and Junius signed his initial letter *C* between two dashes on the Friday.[1]

After the return of Francis to England, from India, instances of the signature of his initials between the two dashes became more frequent. He arrived in England on the 18th of October, 1781, and his initials with the dashes appear on two Letters dated the 24th of November, 1781, which are in the possession of Miss Francis; the one addressed to Sir John Day, which has been printed in the 'Memoirs' (vol. ii. page 212), and the other addressed to Mr. Ducarel, at Calcutta. The same signature is attached to another Letter in her possession, which was likewise addressed to Mr. Ducarel, and bears date the 25th of December, 1781. There are numerous subsequent examples of the same kind, besides those of which facsimiles are given in Plates 184 and 185.

In connection with this subject the following anecdote may be mentioned. I am indebted for it to Mr. W. J. Blake of Danesbury, to whom it was told by his father, the late Mr. William Blake.

After the publication of 'Junius Identified,' Mr. William Blake was in a

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[1] "The great question," to which Junius alludes on the Friday had been mentioned more at length by Francis in his Letter of Wednesday. The freeholders of Middlesex, who had presented a petition against Colonel Luttrell's keeping his seat, were to be heard by counsel at the bar of the House of Commons. Francis on the Wednesday was under the impression that this was to take place on the following Tuesday. Junius on the Friday writes to say that the question will come on on Monday, and says it is essential that a Letter which he encloses should be published on the following day. He ran himself close for time. His public Letter, bearing date the 6th of May, 1769, was addressed to the Marquis of Granby, and is signed "Your Real Friend." (See Woodfall's 'Junius,' vol. iii. page 203.) In the House of Commons, on Monday, the 8th of May, 1769, there was a long debate on the Middlesex petition, the prayer of which was negatived by a majority of 221 to 132.

country house with Sir Philip Francis, and happened to converse with him on the poetry of Lord Byron, to which Sir Philip expressed his aversion. This induced Mr. Blake to single out for his perusal the well known lines in the 'Giaour,' beginning with "He who hath bent him o'er the dead." Francis read them, went to a writing table, seized a piece of paper, wrote down on it a string of words which he extracted from those lines, ending with "nothingness" and "changeless," added below them the word "*senseless;*" and then rapidly subscribed his initials between the two dashes. On observing the signature, Mr. Blake said to him, "Pray will you allow me to ask you, Sir Philip, do you *always* "sign your initials in that manner?" Sir Philip merely answered gruffly, "I know "what you mean, Sir," and walked away. This took place in or about the year 1817, forty-eight years after the 3rd of May, 1769, the date of the Letter in this volume in which the signature of his initials between two dashes first occurs.

Besides the pages, about a hundred in number, which have been photo-lithographed from the original Letters of Francis, there are two pages (Plates 185 and 186) which have been photo-lithographed from engraved facsimiles in 'Junius Identified.' Respecting Plate 185, which contains two short Notes written by Francis to his printer in 1807, and signed by him with his initials between two dashes, nothing further need be said. Plate 186 has been photo-lithographed for a special reason. Its value consists in its being a proof of the good penmanship of Francis. The Letter was evidently addressed to a comparative stranger, and on this account he may have taken greater pains with it than he often took in the penmanship of his Letters to his wife or his brother-in-law. It conveys the impression of Francis having obtained such mastery over his pen that, if he had been on his guard against his variations in slope—the result, probably, of his Junian handwriting—and if he had regularly trained himself for the task, he would have been able to execute some of those model copies which are the terror and the despair of schoolboys. Still there are numerous other specimens of his hand in this volume, some of which were evidently written with extreme rapidity, which seem to prove beyond reasonable doubt that Francis was an accomplished penman.

III. Miscellaneous.—The facsimiles which may be classed under one head as Miscellaneous extend from Plate 215 to Plate 267 inclusive. They comprise specimens of the handwriting of thirteen persons who have been suggested, at different times, as either the author or the amanuensis of the Junian Letters—

viz.: Lady Temple, Lord Temple, Lord George Sackville, Mr. Edmund Burke, Mr. Hugh Boyd, Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. Gerard Hamilton, Mrs. Dayrolle (supposed amanuensis of Lord Chesterfield), Thomas, second Lord Lyttleton, General Lee, Dr. Wilmot, Mr. De Lolme, and Mr. Charles Lloyd. Besides these, there is a facsimile of a Letter from Francis's intimate friend, Mr. Christopher D'Oyly, who, during nine years, was Deputy Secretary-at-War, while Francis was First Clerk in the War Office; there is also a Letter from Mr. Ross, the Scotch agent; and one from Lord Barrington, Secretary-at-War, who was for many years Francis's chief. There are likewise four Letters from Mr. Richard Tilghman. These belong to the "Collateral Evidence," and, being noticed separately, will not be further adverted to in this Preface. The sources from which all the other facsimiles are taken shall be specified; and a few observations shall be made on them as under the heads of Junius and of Francis. Moral improbabilities against any competitor for the Junian hand will not be noticed; but where a physical difficulty intervenes, such as the being in two different places at the same time, the fact will be mentioned in order to spare enquirers an idle waste of ingenuity.

Plates 215, 216, and 217 are photo-lithographs from two original Letters of Countess Temple, which are now in the possession of Mr. John Murray. Both of them have been printed by Mr. W. J. Smith, in the 'Grenville Papers.' Plate 219 is a photograph from an original Letter by Earl Temple, which has been likewise printed in the 'Grenville Papers,' and is now in Mr. Murray's possession. Plates 221 and 222 are photo-lithographs from lithograph facsimiles of Lady Temple's handwriting, which were published by Mr. W. J. Smith, in the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville Papers.'

The facsimiles of Lady Temple's handwriting demand particular attention, because Lady Temple has been deemed by many to have greater claims than Francis to be regarded as the writer of the Junian hand. According to the theory of Mr. W. J. Smith, Lord Temple was the author of Junius, and employed Lady Temple as his amanuensis. The claims of Lady Temple are fully investigated by Mr. Chabot in his second Report. One of the numerous objections to which they are exposed arises from the fact that her punctuation is more than ordinarily defective, while the punctuation of Junius is more than ordinarily good. To meet this objection, it is right to examine fairly a possible hypothesis that Lord Temple may have supplied in this respect the defects of his amanuensis, and may have inserted the stops, after Lady Temple had written

down the words. One element in scrutinising the reasonableness of this hypothesis would consist in the knowledge of how far Lord Temple himself punctuated correctly his own Letters. The facsimile of Lord Temple's Letter, in Plate 219, tends to throw some light on this point. The whole subject is fully discussed by Mr. Chabot, in pages 167 and 168 of his second Report.

Earl Temple, who was born in 1711 and died in 1779, was the elder brother of Mr. George Grenville, though there was not much more than a year's difference of age between them. As Richard Grenville, Esquire, he was married on the 9th of May, 1737, to Miss Anna Chamber, of Hanwell, in Middlesex, and he succeeded to the peerage on the 6th of October, 1752, when she became Countess Temple. It will be observed, therefore, that the first specimen of her handwriting in Plate 221 cannot be later than 1737, and the two other specimens cannot be later than 1752. The only specimens of her writing contemporaneous with the Junian period are in Plates 215 and 216, and in Plate 222. The specimen in Plate 217 was written nearly two years later than the 19th of January, 1773, the date of Junius's last private Letter to Woodfall; and she may have been then suffering from ill-health. As far back as Tuesday, the 21st of March, 1769, she had stated in her Letter, Plate 215, that she had gout in her foot; and it is possible that gout may have affected her hand.

Plates 223, 224, and 225 are photo-lithographs from the engraved facsimile of a Letter of Lord George Sackville, which was published by Mr. Coventry, in 1825, in his 'Critical Enquiry into the Letters of Junius.' Plate 227 is a photo-lithograph from an original Letter of Lord George Sackville, which belongs to Mr. Murray. It has been printed in the 'Grenville Papers.' When compared with the preceding Letter of the 29th of October, 1745, it tends to show that there had been very slight change in Lord G. Sackville's handwriting during twenty-two years. He was born in 1716, assumed by Act of Parliament the surname of "Germain" in 1770, was elevated to the peerage as Viscount Sackville in 1782, and died in 1785.

Plate 229 is a photo-lithograph of a Letter from Mr. Christopher D'Oyly, (*d.* 1795), written on the 21st of December, 1771, after Lord Barrington had accepted on that day his resignation of the office of Deputy Secretary-at-War. The original is in the Letter Book, and it has been printed in the 1st volume of the 'Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis,' page 274. This is a classical Letter, as contemporary evidence of the relation in which Francis stood to Mr. D'Oyly and to

Lord Barrington, at the date of Mr. D'Oyly's resignation. It shows that, at that time, D'Oyly and Francis were on terms of intimate friendship, and were both estranged in feeling from Lord Barrington. It shows, moreover, that though Francis was next to D'Oyly in the War Office, in order of seniority, and had discharged the duties of First Clerk during a period of no less than nine years, Lord Barrington did not advert to him as having claims to advancement, but gave the preference to Mr. Bradshaw and Mr. Smith, two gentlemen unconnected with the office. The vacant place was then offered to each of those gentlemen successively, and was refused by each; and the offer and the refusal were announced in a contemporary newspaper, the 'London Evening Post.' The place was then offered to Francis, and was refused by him likewise. It was then offered to Mr. Chamier, Mr. Bradshaw's brother-in-law, who accepted it, and was duly gazetted as Deputy Secretary-at-War on the 21st of January, 1772. Francis not long afterwards, whether from resentment at the appointment of Mr. Chamier, or for some other reason, resigned the situation of First Clerk in the War Office.

Plates 230 and 231 contain a photo-lithograph of a Letter, dated the 26th of February, 1772, which was written by Lord Barrington to Francis, after his resignation of the office of First Clerk. The original is in the Letter Book already mentioned. It proves conclusively that Francis was not dismissed from the War Office; that his resignation was a voluntary act on his part; that Lord Barrington was sorry to lose him, and was seemingly wholly unconscious of having given him cause for resentment. Lord Barrington was born in 1717, and died in 1793.

The Letter of Mr. George Ross, the Scotch agent (Plate 232), is likewise a photo-lithograph from the original in the Letter Book, Volume IV. It is now published for the first time. It proves that, in not much more than two months from the date of Francis's retirement from the War Office, he was suitor for some office in the gift of Lord Suffolk, the then Secretary of State for the Northern Department. In a note to Junius's Letter to the Duke of Grafton, dated the 12th of December, 1769, Mr. Ross (*d.* 1786) is spoken of as the Scotch agent and *worthy* confidante of Lord Mansfield. In what is called the "Bookseller's Edition" of 'Junius,' of 1783, which has many indications of having been revised by Junius himself, the epithet "worthy" is omitted.

The next Letter, Plate 233, is likewise a photo-lithograph from the original in the Letter Book, Vol. IV. It reproduces a Letter written to Francis by the celebrated Edmund Burke (*b.* 1728, *d.* 1797), and may be said to mark the beginning

of an acquaintance, which subsequently ripened into something more than a mere political friendship, and which, in regard to Indian affairs, was attended by important political results. It will be observed that Mr. Burke's date of place and time is at the foot of the Letter. Francis has recorded, in his own hand, at the top, the day of the month and the year, with his usual stops; and on the second half-sheet of it he has written a draft or copy of his answer to Mr. Burke. It bears date the same day, or rather night, viz. "Wednesday, 27th of October. 1773," and was as follows :—

"DEAR SIR,[1] Only that I observe the shortness of this life and think it bad "Policy to postpone my Pleasures, I should tell you to-morrow sennight will "suit exactly as well as Friday next. I shall give notice to our friend, and if "I hear nothing to the contrary shall expect to have the pleasure of seeing you "on Thursday, the 4th of next Month. If I do not mistake, the day deserves "celebration."

It will be observed in Mr. Burke's Letter that there is a comma after the salutation. It is a curious fact that in the draft of his answer, Francis, likewise, has placed a comma after his salutation, though there is no instance of the kind in the Letter Book in any Letter which he both wrote and sent to its destination. It is possible that he for once departed from his settled habits in the original Letter which he sent to Mr. Burke; being influenced for the moment to follow, even in a matter so trifling, the example of such an illustrious man.

Plates 234 and 235 are photo-lithographs from engraved facsimiles of the writing of Mr. Hugh Macaulay Boyd; the first taken from a facsimile in Woodfall's 'Junius,' the other from a facsimile in what is called Almon's 'Junius,'

[1] This Letter is in singular contrast to a Letter of Francis, dated November 3, 1790, in which he writes to Burke, criticising the celebrated 'Reflections on the French Revolution,' then just published. One passage in that Letter is very remarkable, considering to whom it was addressed. "Once for all, I wish you would "let me teach you to write English. To me "who am to read everything you write, it would "be a great comfort, and to you no sort of dis-"paragement. Why will you not allow your-"self to be persuaded that polish is material for "preservation?" Burke, in the course of his reply, in a Letter dated November 19, 1790, writes as follows:—"I decline controversy with "you, because I feel myself over-matched in a "competition with such talents as yours. I "have written this merely because there are "circumstances in which silence may be con-"strued into greater disrespect than contradic-"tion; and I should be sorry that anything in "my behaviour could bear the slightest ap-"pearance of disrespect to you; it would do "little credit to my understanding."—*Burke Correspondence*, 1844, vol. iii. pages 164-176.

which was published in 1806. Mr. Almon, the bookseller, propounded the theory that Mr. Boyd (*b.* 1746, *d.* 1791) was the author of Junius; and it has been suggested within the last few years, though no detailed reasons have been assigned for the suggestion, that his handwriting is apparent in the 8th, 9th, and 10th lines of Junius's Letter to Woodfall, No. 6 (Plate 28). This suggestion has been very fully considered and negatived by Mr. Chabot in a most masterly analysis of those three lines, in pages 91–96. The fact is that those lines illustrate some of the most marked peculiarities of Francis's handwriting. And, generally, Mr. Chabot states of the whole Letter that no Letter written by Junius illustrates so many points of the identity with Francis's hand. In order to satisfy himself on this head, a reader should not only refer to the interesting plate of "Comparisons of Words," which is inserted to face page 98, but he should likewise study the text in pages 96–98, in which so many of Francis's habits of writing are shown to be exemplified in that Letter.

Plate 236 contains specimens of the handwriting of Mr. Horne Tooke, and Mr. William Gerard Hamilton, photo-lithographed from facsimiles in Woodfall's 'Junius.' Mr. Horne Tooke (*b.* 1736, *d.* 1812), who, in the Junian period, was known as the Rev. John Horne, is regarded by many as the only antagonist of Junius who, in controversy with him, had the best of it. The attributing the authorship of Junius to him, as was done by the Rev. Mr. Blakeway, in a work published at Shrewsbury in 1813, implies that the whole of that controversy was fictitious. Mr. Gerard Hamilton, known by the name of Single-speech Hamilton (*b.* 1729, *d.* 1796), is the person of whom Mr. Fox said, in the language of the Turf, that, though he would not back him against the field as the author of Junius, he would back him against any single horse. He acquired his appellation of "Single-speech" from a speech made by him in the House of Commons in November, 1753, by which he acquired a reputation which was not maintained by any of his few subsequent speeches in that assembly. No one seems to have published any work to prove that he was Junius; and in this respect he may be regarded as more fortunate than some of his competitors.

Passing over the Letters of Mr. Richard Tilghman, which extend from Plates 237–251 inclusive, and which belong to the "Collateral Evidence," the next Letter is one from Mrs. Dayrolle, supposed amanuensis of the celebrated Earl of Chesterfield. It is on Plates 253 and 254, and is photo-lithographed from a facsimile contained in a work published in 1851 by Mr. Cramp, entitled 'Junius and his Works compared with the Writings of Philip Dormer, Earl of

Chesterfield.' I have to thank Earl Stanhope for calling my attention to this work, and for lending to me the facsimile from which the photo-lithograph was taken. Lord Stanhope, it is scarcely necessary to state, does not agree with the conclusions of Mr. Cramp. His views on the Junian question are well known, from his 'History of England,' to coincide with the opinion of Mr. Hallam and Lord Macaulay. But he justly deemed it reasonable that, as a question of handwriting, the claim of Mrs. Dayrolle should be fairly considered. I may add, as within my own knowledge, that at least one person of eminence has been convinced by the handwriting of the Letter that Lord Chesterfield was Junius.

Lord Chesterfield was born on the 22nd of September, 1695, and died on the 24th of March, 1773; not much more than two months after the 19th of January, the date of the last private Letter of Junius to Woodfall. On the hypothesis of his being Junius, the date of his death is regarded as explaining the fact that there is no certain trace of Junius after the day of the date of that Letter.

The next six plates, 255–258B, are photo-lithographs from Letters of Thomas, second Lord Lyttelton (*b.* 1744, *d.* 1779). The originals of the four first Letters are in the possession of the present Lord Lyttelton, who at some inconvenience to himself enabled me to inspect numerous Letters of Thomas, the second Lord, and to photograph as many of them as I desired for that purpose. I selected pages with the openings of Letters, as furnishing instances of a fullstop after the salutation in a competitor for the Junian hand, and as illustrating at the same time differences from Junius and Francis in datings. One difference is very marked as to the place where Lord Lyttelton wrote the *th* of the numeral of the month in his datings, as distinguished from the peculiar manner in which Junius and Francis wrote it above the numeral (see page 200, and Plate 3 in Junius, as compared with Plates 157, 160, and 162, in Francis). It is very unlikely, 1st, that Lord Lyttelton should have thought, in Plate 3, of such a departure from his ordinary habits in order to disguise his hand, and, 2ndly, that he should, by accident, have coincided in his disguise with the ordinary habit of Francis. The original of the fifth Letter is in the possession of William J. Thoms, Esq., the originator and learned editor of the very useful weekly publication 'Notes and Queries.' He published that Letter on March 17, 1855, in the 11th volume of the first series of that work, page 199, as proving incontestably that Thomas Lord Lyttelton was not Junius. In this opinion I coincide; the Letter is not as well known as it ought to be, and I publish a photo-lithograph of it, in order to aid, if it is possible, in finally extinguishing at least one error. Mr. Thoms points out that it shows

Lord Lyttelton to have been abroad in November, 1771, when a reference to *the Letters* proves Junius to have been active in London or its neighbourhood. The Letter is dated Mastricht, 27th (or 29th) November, 1771, and, as Mr. Thoms observes, "it shows that Lord Lyttelton had not gone there direct from "England, but had been at Douai and was proceeding to Liege;" "and all this in "the very month when Junius" was cognisant of and alarmed at Garrick's "impertinent inquiries," and wrote "no less than three private Letters to "Woodfall, besides three in the 'Public Advertiser.'" In fact, in the "Author's Edition" of 'Junius,' a public Letter to the Duke of Grafton bears date "27 Nov. 1771;" and in Plate 68 of this volume will be found a private Letter to Woodfall, with precisely the same date, except that the year was written by mistake 1770, when it ought to have been written 1771.

Plates 259, 260, and 261 contain photo-lithographs from engraved facsimiles of the handwriting of General Charles Lee (*b.* 1730, *d.* 1782). The Letter dated July 21st, 1761, is from Woodfall's 'Junius,' vol. ii. plate v. The other two specimens of writing are from a work published in 1813, by Dr. Thomas Girdlestone, M.D., entitled 'Facts tending to prove that General Lee was not absent from this country for any length of time during the years 1767–1772, and that he was the Author of Junius.' An author on the Junian question, who will be hereafter more particularly referred to, has recorded his opinion that the handwriting of General Lee bears more resemblance than that of Sir Philip Francis to the handwriting of Junius. As illustrating varieties of opinion which may be put in circulation when, without assigning reasons, documents are asserted to be like each other, these facsimiles deserve attention.

Plates 262 and 263 are photo-lithographs from engraved facsimiles which were published in 1813 by Olivia Wilmot Serres, as taken from the writing of her uncle, Dr. Wilmot.

They are now published solely because his handwriting has been more than once mentioned as having equal claim with that of Francis to compete successfully for the Junian hand. It is proper, however, to mention that there is a physical difficulty in the way of his being Junius. Dr. Wilmot, who was born in 1726, and died in 1807, was Curate of Kenilworth during several years commencing in 1770. A hundred years ago Kenilworth could not have been conveniently reached from London in less than two days; and during 1771, when Junius must have been residing in or near London, Dr. Wilmot was habitually residing at Kenilworth in the discharge of his professional duties. This was clearly

shown in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for August, 1813, pages 99–101, by Dr. Butler, who was then the distinguished Head Master of Shrewsbury School, and Vicar of Kenilworth. He proved his assertion by copies of Dr. Wilmot's written entries in the parish register as officiating clergyman.*

As to the handwriting, there is no sufficient reason to deny the genuineness of the facsimiles in Plate 263; but Plate 262, if unexplained, seems to contain a palpable forgery, which was at once denounced in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1813 by the Mr. George Woodfall, who has given his name to Woodfall's 'Junius.' It will be seen in this plate that Dr. Wilmot's initials are attached to a statement dated "March 17–67," that he had just completed his last Letter of *J—s* (Junius) and sent the same to *L—d S—ne* (Lord Shelburne). Unfortunately for the genuineness of this document, the first Letter signed "Junius" did not appear till the 21st of November, 1768, eighteen months after the time when, according to the statement attributed to Dr. Wilmot, Junius is supposed to have written his last Letter. Subsequently, in a work published in 1832, entitled 'Secret History of the Court of England,' by Lady Anne Hamilton,[1] a bold attempt was made to amend the forgery by publishing the very same facsimile with the sole alteration of the year "67" to 1772. But even so the date does not tally with facts, as the last Letter written by Junius under that name bears the date of 21. January. 1773; and his last Letter, written with the signature of "Nemesis," bears the date of the 15th of May in the same year.

Plates 264 and 265 contain a Letter from Mr. John Lewis De Lolme, author of the well-known work on the 'Constitution of England.' The photo-lithograph is from an engraved facsimile published by Dr. Busby in 1813, in a work entitled 'Arguments demonstrating that the Letters of Junius were written by J. L. De Lolme.' Mr. Thoms called my attention to this work, and permitted me to have a photograph taken from the facsimile in a good copy of the work in his possession.

De Lolme's hand had in it some of the points of the Junian handwriting; and hence his Letter is well worth publishing. But it ought to be known that, in reference to him, as well as in reference to Thomas Lord Lyttelton and to Dr. Wilmot, there seems to be a physical difficulty in the way of his being Junius. This gentleman, who was born seemingly in 1742, and who died in 1806,

* [1] I am indebted for a knowledge of this work, and of the amended forgery, to the appendix of an interesting work by Mr. Thoms on Hannah Lightfoot (London, 1867).

was a citizen of Geneva; and in the preface to the 4th edition of his work, published in English in 1784, he gives an account of the time when he came to England, and of the period during which he was engaged in the composition of that work. He says that he was twenty-seven years old when he came to this country, that he began to write his work when he had been here only a year, and that it was published about nine months afterwards. As his work was published for the first time in 1771 (in French, at Amsterdam), he cannot, consistently with his own statement, have arrived in England earlier than 1769. This fact, the truth of which depends on his own detailed statement, must be accepted as reasonably certain, until equally good proof, as distinguished from doubts and conjecture, is advanced to show that he arrived in England earlier. The fact of his having come to England for the first time in 1769 is physically incompatible with his having been the author of Junius.

Plates 266 and 267 contain the last Letter in this collection under the head "Miscellaneous." It was written by Mr. Charles Lloyd, who had been at one time confidential secretary to Mr. Grenville. The date of his birth is not recorded. He died on the 22nd of January, 1773, just three days after the date of Junius's last private Letter to Woodfall. He was brother to the then Dean of Norwich; and was Deputy Teller in the Exchequer and a Clerk in the Treasury.

The original Letter from which the photo-lithograph has been taken is in the possession of Mr. Thoms, to whom I desire to express my obligation for his liberality. This is the first time that any facsimile of Mr. Lloyd's handwriting has been published, though Mr. Barker, in 1828, in 'Letters on the Author of Junius' declared it to be his opinion that Mr. Lloyd "was concerned in the "authorship of the Letters, either as the amanuensis or as a collector of intelli- "gence, or as 'the conveyancer' of the Letters themselves." At the same time, Dr. Parr both in writing and in conversation attributed the authorship of those Letters to Mr. Lloyd positively and peremptorily; though he did not enter into detailed proofs of his assertion. Under these circumstances, it seems proper to include in this work a specimen of Mr. Lloyd's handwriting.

I have now gone through all the photo-lithographs in this volume, and have specified the original Letters or the facsimiles from which each photo-lithograph was derived. It is proper to mention that, with the exception of the last three Letters, every one of them has been photographed by the same very skilful photographer, Mr. Preston, and all the photographs have been transferred to stone and impressions taken by the same establishment, that of Messrs. Vincent Brooks,

Day and Son. Hence, for purposes of comparison, there can be no material difference in the excellence of the photo-lithographs. Whatever difference exists must be mainly attributed to the comparative clearness with which the original Letters were written, and to the comparative goodness of the ink which was made use of by the penman.

It is right to add that, with two exceptions duly recorded in their proper place, not one of the photo-lithographs has been retouched by hand. On two occasions, when the hand had been used to bring out a few points in the photo-lithograph which existed in the original Letters, but had not been sufficiently reproduced, I caused 300 copies to be cancelled and fresh negatives to be taken, because those particular Letters were not accessible to the public. Though much may have been gained in this way by the confidence which may be reposed in the photo-lithographs, something has undoubtedly been lost in reference to fine strokes, and especially the up-strokes. This tells most in the junctions of words, one marked habitual feature in the Junian and Franciscan writing. Mr. Thomas Powell, an accurate reader in the printing establishment of Messrs. Clowes and Sons, who has verified for me statistically many general observations of Mr. Chabot, carefully noted for me all the junctions of words visible to the naked eye in the photo-lithographs of Junius and Francis, and their number was found to be undoubtedly less than in the originals. Indeed, many such junctions which Mr. Powell himself noted, might easily escape the observation of any one with feeble eyesight. It is strongly recommended, therefore, in reference to this point as well as other subtle points of identity in the handwriting of Junius and Francis, that any one interested in investigations of this kind should occasionally make use of a powerful magnifying glass in studying the photo-lithographs in this volume.

PREVIOUS EVIDENCE AND CONTROVERSY ON THE HANDWRITING OF JUNIUS AND FRANCIS.

I now proceed to notice the evidence, which has been already laid before the public, to show that the Junian Manuscripts were penned by Francis; and I will then state how the subject has been dealt with by some of those who have denied or disregarded the force of that evidence. The result may be found interesting in many ways; and it will, at any rate, tend to illustrate the general state of

knowledge and opinion in this country respecting the comparison of handwritings at the time when Mr. Chabot undertook his investigation into the handwriting of Junius.

The most important evidence on the handwriting of Junius and Francis was likewise the earliest published on the subject. It is contained in the supplement to 'Junius Identified,' the work written by Mr. John Taylor, to prove the identity of Junius with Sir Philip Francis. Mr. Taylor was born in 1781, and died in July, 1864. During many years of his life he was a publisher in London; but he had retired from business some years before his death. He is said to have been well acquainted with the language and literature of Greece and Rome, and to have translated the Odes of Horace. He is stated also to have been conversant with Hebrew, and to have studied successfully mathematical science. The first edition of 'Junius Identified' appeared in 1816, and the supplement in 1817. It was in the supplement that, for the first time, Mr. Taylor dealt with the question of handwriting. In it he published three plates of facsimiles from Francis, and only one from Junius; but it was assumed that readers were either conversant with, or would refer to, the facsimiles published by Woodfall, in his edition of 'Junius.' Mr. Taylor published, at the same time, a separate plate in which a comparison was made between letters and particular words in Junius and Francis respectively. To all this he added in the text of the supplement the following observations, which should be read in connection with the whole series of facsimiles to which reference has just been made. Mr. Chabot, though he would modify some of the statements, agrees[1] generally with Mr. Taylor's observations, the majority of which he regards as strictly correct,

[1] Mr. Chabot, before he had read the Supplement, had made, independently, the observations in his Report which coincide with those in the Supplement. It may be interesting to the public to know the mode of proceeding adopted by him in the outset of this investigation. His method was as follows:—He devoted about a month to a searching examination of the forty-two Letters of Francis contained in the Letter Book, Vol. IV. He thoroughly studied the handwriting of those Letters, until he had made himself familiar with all its principal features, and many of its subtle peculiarities. He then examined, first, Woodfall's specimens; and, afterwards, all the Junian Manuscripts in the British Museum. He followed with those Manuscripts the same plan which he had adopted in studying the Letters of Francis, and he thus made himself master of the leading features and peculiarities of the Junian hand. Subsequently, he submitted the three Letters to Mr. Grenville, and the Essay on the Auction Duty, to a similar examination and analysis. At the very first, by the aid of the specimens in Woodfall's 'Junius,' he found so many habits and peculiarities of Francis reproduced in Junius as to preclude the supposition of a merely accidental coincidence.

and very pertinent towards proving the conclusion in support of which they were advanced:—

The first thing which strikes the eye in comparing the fac-similes together, is the *general likeness* which runs through them. The hand of JUNIUS is that of a *good writer*, a neat penman, one who knows how to form his letters well; and in this respect, Sir PHILIP FRANCIS displays equal ability. It has been observed of him, that he possessed so perfect a command of his pen, that he could write every kind of hand; and, therefore, it would be difficult to detect a likeness, and illogical to infer any thing from it, if it should happen to exist. But though he had this variety in his power, he could not help falling into a habit of forming his letters in a certain manner; and, with all his skill in adopting any particular kind of writing, it would be utterly impossible for him to imitate that which he had never seen: the objection therefore is quite futile.—He might have been a loose, a careless, an irregular, or a bad writer, and then we should have discarded the pretension at once; but as he is the reverse of all this, and as the leading character of his hand-writing bears a strong affinity to that of JUNIUS, it is right that we should proceed to a more minute inspection; first premising, that allowance must be made for the disguise which JUNIUS affected, consisting chiefly in that degree of uprightness which results from keeping the elbow far from the side, and the paper opposite the left hand.

Many writers lift up the pen between each letter, many more at the end of a word, but JUNIUS and Sir PHILIP write with such freedom as to connect two, and sometimes three or four words together. (Vide the Specimens, No. IV. &c.)—And in forming *each letter*, they proceed exactly on one uniform principle, producing a series of minute cases of resemblance, utterly impossible to be found in the writings of two different persons.

Even in those peculiarities which would seem to be introduced for the purpose of assisting the disguise, or removing farther off the appearance of similitude, the assumed practice prevailed so long that it became at last a habit, and the singularity lost its character. The small Greek ε is an instance of this. JUNIUS often uses it, Sir PHILIP only now and then: see *earnestly*, No. III.—The manner in which the little *a* is constructed, by first making an *e*, or rather an *o*, beginning at the bottom,—the *curl* of the letter *e* at the end of a word,—and the *half large c* at the beginning,—are all of them examples of a principle or habit, which, however uncommon it may be, systematically prevails throughout these different fac-similes.—When the same word occurs in both specimens, it often consists of letters formed in every instance quite alike,—an infallible demonstration of the same writer:—Vide *correct, first, may, have*, &c.

In their *capital* letters there is the nicest conformity. Whether a *small letter amplified* is alone used, as in *a, n, q*,—or the proper capital *only*, as in *B, D, E, F, G*, &c. —or *both* sorts, as in *C, M, P, S*,—their practice is uniform; and it is scarcely possible to find one character frequently introduced by either, the parallel of which does not exist in the writings of the other. I speak it, of course, from the impression made on my mind by what I have seen in many specimens of their writings: not from these only.—The same experience enables me to add, that their *figures* or *numerals* are invariably alike.

In the application of capital letters to *certain words*, each appears to be governed by no positive rule, yet his practice is consistent with that of the other. Some people use them for every substantive; some for emphatic words only, whether substantives or otherwise; and many omit them altogether, except at the beginning of sentences, and for proper names. JUNIUS and Sir P. FRANCIS prefix them to many, but not to *all* substantives; and beside these, to no other words except *You*, *Yours* and *Yourself*, which are always written by both of them with a capital letter. The general rule may perhaps be a common one, but this single exception forms an instance of most extraordinary consent.

Nothing affords greater scope for diversity of practice, than the *mode of punctuation*. It is a common thing for writers to be very careless in this matter; but JUNIUS and Sir PHILIP are particular in the use of stops, pointing with minute accuracy even the most trifling notes. The principle on which this is done shews the closest conformity of plan. It may seem a trivial circumstance to some, but the introduction of the *short stroke*—or *dash*—between the words as well as sentences, to the degree in which it is done by both of them, is characteristic of the writers.—With extraordinary uniformity, where imitation is out of the question, they each place a *grave accent*, more frequently than a round dot, over the small *i*.—They very seldom *divide a word* at the end of a line, preferring in the place of it to leave a great space, which is often filled up by an extended flourish of the pen, as is the case in law writings: but when a word is divided, the syllables are connected by a *colon* rather than a hyphen, and the *same* mark is repeated, unnecessarily, at the beginning of the next line: *vide* the first line in No. 10. of Woodfall's facsimiles, and III. and VI. in the annexed engravings.—Equally or more singular is the manner in which they sometimes form a *note of interrogation, incorrectly*, though exactly alike: *vide* No. VI.—For the *inverted commas*, by which quotations are distinguished, they each substitute two short *straight* strokes. Even in the long irregular curve of the *parenthesis* the latter limb of which is thicker and less bent than its companion, they differ as much from the accustomed figure as they agree in one peculiar to themselves: *vide* facsimiles, IV. and VIII.

The various forms of the *&*, none of which are continued *below* the line; and the final *superior a* at the end of the *&c*^{a}*;* are more than ordinary indications of the identity of the writers.—Our next trait is irresistible. A copy of one of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS'S pamphlets, with the *author's corrections*, having fallen into my possession, I observed, that whenever he blotted out any words or letters in the body of the page, he placed in the margin a Greek δ, with a long stroke *before* it. The proper and usual sign of *deletion* is like the Greek ϑ, being in fact a round shaped *d* with the top turned inward through the body of the letter; and the long stroke should *follow*, not precede the sign, in order to separate it from other corrections which might occur in the same line. On examining afterwards the copy of JUNIUS, which the *author had revised*, and which is now in the hands of Mr. Woodfall, there appeared precisely the same Greek δ for *dele*, with the stroke again *before* it, in the same improper manner. And this double peculiarity is not occasional, but common, throughout the proof-sheets of both authors.

It is customary to distinguish a *quotation* from the rest of the page in two different ways: viz. either by inclosing it between *inverted commas*, or by *underscoring the words*,

which, in printing, is expressed by the italic characters. Those who adopt the one plan seldom follow the other; but JUNIUS and Sir PHILIP indiscriminately use both, and it is difficult to say which obtains the preference; yet they do not apply both *in conjunction*, which is sometimes done by other writers.—Still further to declare their individual sameness, they are in the habit of referring to the books, whence extracts are taken, in a way that is very rarely witnessed. Authors commonly affix the asterisk, or star at the *end* of the quotation; thus, without interruption to the flow of the sentence, the eye of the reader is carried down to the authority at the foot of the page: but JUNIUS and Sir P. FRANCIS, always in their writings, place it at the *beginning;* and though a practice so repugnant to custom would of course sometimes be altered by the printer, yet it is generally adhered to in all their works, from the first edition of JUNIUS'S Letters, in 1772, and Sir PHILIP FRANCIS'S Letter to Lord North, in 1777, down to his latest productions.

In whatever way it is possible to prove an allegation of identity, we may trace it between the parties before us. It extends even to the minutest shades of resemblance; and is found wherever there is the slightest chance of diversity. In the Essay prefixed to the last edition of the Letters of JUNIUS, it is noticed that the author gave the French form to the words *masque* and *risque*. Sir PHILIP does the same; and not only in these words is his mode of spelling conformable to that of JUNIUS, but in *every other instance*. Some of these are very curious. *Tho'* is always written by both of them briefly, with the apostrophe; *whenever it is printed in full it is contrary to the manuscript: vide* the fac-similes of JUNIUS, and the *first edition* of the Letters; also the various works of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS.—*Compleatly*, instead of *completely; in*hance, *in*gross, *in*tire, *in*force, *in*slave, *in*trust, and the like—for *enhance*, &c.; to *skulk*, to *skreen*, are examples of a system of orthography uniformly acted on by both writers, however rarely practised by others.—*Farther* occurs constantly in all their works; *further* never.—And in *evident mistakes*, wherein they differ from all other people, they still agree with each other JUNIUS says in the manuscript from which our engraved fac-simile is taken, "You shall endeav*or* to restore annual parliaments;" and again, "I will endeav*or* (and if I live will assuredly attempt it) to convince the English nation." If it had not been seen in the original letter, this peculiarity would have remained unknown, for, being so glaringly improper, it was corrected by the printer in the first edition. The same cause has prevented it from very frequently appearing in the works of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS; but in the "Observations on Mr. Hasting's Narrative," printed in 1786, we find at p. 15, "the artifices imputed to him by which he is said to have endeav*or*ed to elude payment;" at p. 20, "I endeav*or* to fulfil your orders;" and at p. 58, "The odium of a vindictive sanguinary character which the narrative endeav*ors* to fix," &c. The repetition of the error[1] in all these cases proves that it was not accidental.—Again, JUNIUS says to Lord Mansfield, "I feel for human nature, when I see a man so gifted as you are, descend to such vile prac*tise*." Edition 1772, i. 130. Sir PHILIP FRANCIS, on March 7, 1786, in moving an amendment to the India Bill of 1784, says, "Of the present Minister I am

[1] Each, however, also spelt the word in the usual way. See Junius, Plate 99, line 1, and Francis, Plate 138, line 4, and Plate 143, line 7.—ED.

ready to admit, that so base a prac*tise* is not to be suspected;" p. 63: at p. 70, he mentions "the prac*tise* and the wisdom of England ever since parliaments had a being: and in his admirable speech on the Revenue Charge, published in 1787, he speaks of "a principle the most profligate, the most corrupt, the most dangerous, I will not say that ever was avowed, for no man ever avowed such a principle before, but that ever was admitted into the prac*tise* of any government;" p. 108. In writings so correct as those of JUNIUS, and with men so well educated as Sir P. FRANCIS, these partial aberrations from the right road are the more singular: and for my own part, I think that *they alone* are sufficient to settle the controversy.

No one acquainted with the private letters of JUNIUS, inserted in the last edition, can fail to perceive their affinity with the two short notes in our engraving, Nos. IV. and V. Look at their form, their size, their brevity; their abrupt, unceremonious beginning and ending, though written in the first person; their conversational style, and the shortness of the sentences. Compare them in all these particulars with the letters to Woodfall, and consider whether in fact they are not so like them, that there is some reason to suspect they were borrowed from that collection. JUNIUS commences many of his notes like these, without any address at the top, or compliment at the close, signing only the letter C, and sometimes omitting even that. Vide No. 10, 13, 14, 16, 20, 21, &c. He uses the same colloquial language that we find in these notes: "*Pray* tell me whether George Onslow means to keep his word with you about prosecuting. Yes or No will be sufficient. Your Lycurgus is a Mr. Kent, a young man of good parts about town. And *so* I wish you a good night." He also expresses himself very nearly in the words of Sir PHILIP, on occasions somewhat similar: "*Make yourself easy about me*, I believe you are an honest man, and I never am angry." To Wilkes: "I am overcome with the *slavery* of *writing*."

The *signature* terminates this train of coincidences with one as remarkable as any. Observe the marks which accompany the letter C, as it is signed by JUNIUS, and the dash above and below the initials of Sir PHILIP FRANCIS. The resemblance cannot be more perfect. It properly completes the series, and is in every sense conclusive.

It cannot be thought that any of these correspondences are too unimportant to be mentioned. In determining a question of personal identity, moles and other little marks are more attended to, than the more general, though larger, features of similitude. Nor can any one doubt his own competency to draw a positive conclusion from such premises. The agreement is too prominent, too definite, to be overlooked or resisted. I have only to add, that in the opinion of those who are *most conversant* with such matters, and whose evidence would be esteemed decisive in a court of law, the *hand-writing of one short note* No. IV. compared with the extract No. VII. which was written forty years anterior, is sufficient to prove, that *the hand-writing of the Letters of Junius is that of Sir P. Francis.*

The preceding observations of Mr. Taylor, combined with the facsimiles which he published at the same time, were not accepted as sound merely by those who were otherwise convinced that Francis was Junius. In two instances they

commanded the assent of writers who, for different reasons, refused to attribute to Francis the authorship of the Letters. Thus, Mr. Charles Butler (*b.* 1750, *d.* 1832), in his 'Reminiscences,'[1] published in 1822, was willing to allow that Francis was the amanuensis of Junius, though he rejected him as the author on account of the inferiority of his acknowledged writings to Junius's Letters. And in 'Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III.,' while Lord Brougham, in 1839, regarded it as both the most reasonable and the most charitable course to believe Francis's[2] indignant denials of the authorship —stating that if Francis felt the imputation to be so grievous a charge against him, he had full right to plead the integrity and honour of his whole life in his own vindication—yet he admitted the supposition that Francis had a knowledge of the secret, and had even been engaged in copying the Letters.

On the other hand, Mr. Coventry, in 1825, in his 'Critical Enquiry into the Letters of Junius,' in order to prove that Lord George Sackville was the hand-

[1] In the 'Reminiscences,' page 78, edition of 1824, there is a Letter from Mr. Butler, dated July, 1799, in which he states that in 1776 Mr. Wilkes had shown him the originals of Junius's Letters, and that all of them were in the same handwriting, except the Letter to the King, which was in a handwriting perfectly different. After the lapse of twenty-three years the memory of intelligent and honourable men is often treacherous as to facts. It is extremely improbable that Mr. Wilkes had in his possession the real originals of Junius's Letters. Even if he had, no reliance can be safely placed in Mr. Butler's opinion that the Letter to the King was in a perfectly different handwriting from that of the other Letters. The varieties of writing in Junius are amply sufficient to mislead a volunteer on such a point. A volunteer might easily form an opinion that Junius's Letter to Woodfall, No. 3 (Plate 24), was in a perfectly different hand from his Letter No. 29 (Plate 55); or that the Letter No. 5 (Plate 27) was in a perfectly different hand from that of the Dedication to the English Nation (Plate 17).

[2] Lord Brougham was the author of the article in the 'Edinburgh Review,' of November, 1817, in which 'Junius Identified' was reviewed, and its conclusions favourably received. Francis survived more than a year afterwards, with intellect unimpaired. The poet Moore, in his 'Diary,' wrote down the following passage, after having met Brougham at dinner on the 26th of August, 1829:—"Brougham was "by when Francis made the often quoted an- "swer to Rogers. 'There is a question, Sir "'Philip' (said R.), 'which I should much like "'to ask, if you will allow me.'—'You had "'better not, Sir,' answered Francis, 'you may "'have reason to be sorry for it' (or repent of "it), or, as Lord Russell corrects the statement, "'*At your peril, Sir.*' . . . Brougham himself "asked him one day, 'Is it a thing quite ridi- "'culous to suppose you might be the author?' "—'Why, Sir,' he replied, 'if the world is deter- "'mined to make me out such a ruffian, I can't "'help them.'" In 'Recollections of the Table Talk of Samuel Rogers' (1856), the poet Rogers is represented as saying that he was present when Lady Holland put the question to Francis whether he was Junius. "His answer was, "'Madam, do you mean to insult me?' and he "went on to say that, when he was a younger "man, people would not have ventured to "charge him with being the author of those "Letters."—Page 273.

writer as well as the author of those Letters, published an engraved facsimile of a private Letter of Lord George Sackville, accompanied by numerous facsimiles of particular letters and words taken from that Letter, and from the Junian specimens in Woodfall's edition. Mr. Coventry, however, did not attempt to negative by argument the inference to be drawn from Mr. Taylor's observations; nor did he point out any habits of writing common to Lord George Sackville and Junius. He scarcely did more than state that "most "of the words which he had selected to compare with those of Junius bore so "close a resemblance, particularly where there was any peculiarity, that the "reader would probably be convinced they were written by one and the same "person." Moreover, Mr. Barker, of Thetford, three years later, in 1828, propounded a new theory, which involved as one of its alternatives that Mr. Charles Lloyd was the amanuensis of Junius. He did not, however, publish any facsimile of Mr. Lloyd's handwriting; nor did he make his hypothesis probable by any proof or observation of any kind. Indeed, in this respect he was only consistent with his own principles; for he seems to have supposed that no certain conclusion could be drawn from comparison of handwriting; and that as much had been adduced to show that Lord George Sackville or General Lee was the handwriter of Junius as had been advanced by Mr. Taylor in behalf of Francis.

Mr. Taylor's observations, however, did not afterwards rest uncorroborated. The inference to be drawn from them, and from the facsimiles in the supplement to 'Junius Identified,' was strengthened by other facsimiles which were published in 1840 in the 4th volume of the 'Chatham Correspondence.' The way in which the editors of that work were led to make a contribution towards the Junian controversy was the following. Among the papers of the first Earl of Chatham were found the two original Letters addressed to him by Junius, of which mention has been already made; the one dated the 2nd of January, 1768, and the other the 14th of January, 1772. But besides these two Letters there were found amongst Lord Chatham's papers two documents in the handwriting of Francis. The date of one of these was the 21st of April, 1770; the other was undated, but was probably written on the 25th of March, 1771. Both of them contained political intelligence, and had been forwarded to Lord Chatham by Francis's patron and friend, Mr. Calcraft, the member for Wareham. Many words in these last two documents, written in a sloping hand, appeared to the editors identical with words written by Junius in an upright

hand in the two Letters to Lord Chatham. This induced the editors to endeavour to obtain other specimens of Francis's handwriting, and they eventually procured three of his Letters: one written by him to Mr. Thicknesse, High Master of St. Paul's School; and the two others were communicated to them by Mrs. Godshall Johnson, Sir Philip's daughter. With these materials the editors published a facsimile of specimens of Francis's writing, and a plate of words selected from Francis and Junius to illustrate their opinion that the upright hand of Junius was merely the sloping hand of Francis disguised. The editors did not make any additional observations as to habits of handwriting common to Junius and Francis; but still it was reasonable that the facsimiles in the 'Chatham Correspondence' should be examined in connection with the observations of Mr. Taylor in the supplement to 'Junius Identified;' and, at any rate, those facsimiles strikingly illustrated and confirmed those observations.

Thus stood the evidence in 1840. In October of the following year, Lord Macaulay published in the 'Edinburgh Review' his article on Warren Hastings, in which, selecting five of the numerous reasons advanced by Mr. Taylor for identifying Francis with Junius, he stated that, if the argument founded on them did not settle the question, there was an end of all reasoning on circumstantial evidence. Independently, however, of those five reasons, he observed that "the handwriting of Junius is the very peculiar handwriting of Francis slightly "disguised;" evidently referring to the facsimiles which had been published in the 4th volume of the 'Chatham Correspondence' in the previous year. Earl Stanhope also, in the 5th edition of his 'History of England' (1858), while he referred to the observations of Mr. Taylor on handwriting in 'Junius Identified,' drew attention expressly to the 4th volume of the 'Chatham Correspondence.' He stated that in it "will be found facsimiles of some words "from Junius ranged in alphabetical order, and side by side, the same or nearly "the same words from the acknowledged writings of Sir Philip Francis."—Volume V., Appendix, xxxiii.

Still, although the evidence respecting handwriting was thus recognised by two eminent writers, who agreed in opinion with Mr. Taylor respecting the authorship of Junius, this, with one exception, was by no means the case with those who dissented from those conclusions. The one exception was in 1843, when Mr. John Jaques (*b.* 1789, *d.* 1858), published a work entitled 'The History of Junius and his Works,' in which he put forward Lord George Sackville as the author of Junius, and Sir Philip Francis as his amanuensis.

Otherwise, from 1840, inclusive, till April, 1868, when Mr. Chabot undertook his investigation into the Junian hand, there were at least nine different authors who published opinions either directly or by implication adverse to or ignoring the claims of Francis either as amanuensis or author. These nine gentlemen were Sir Charles Grey, Mr. Britton, Mr. Dilke, Mr. Cramp, Mr. Coulton, Mr. William James Smith, Mr. Massey, Mr. Jelinger Symons, and Mr. Hayward. Six of them formally proposed new candidates; and it will throw light on the state of knowledge respecting the comparison of handwritings if the way in which each disregarded or dealt with the question of handwriting is set forth and understood.

1. Sir Charles Grey is first to be noticed. He came before the public in connection with Junius in the following manner. In 1840, the year in which the 4th volume of the 'Chatham Correspondence' was published, Mr. Bentley published an edition in six volumes of the 'Letters of Horace Walpole.' The 6th volume of this work contained a Letter from Sir Charles Grey (*b.* 1785, *d.* 1865), in which the suggestion was made that Horace Walpole had a principal share in the composition and publication of the Letters of Junius, and that Mr. Mason, or some other friend, corrected the style and gave force to the most striking passages. Sir Charles had been Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Bengal, and must have well understood the difference between evidence and conjectures. Now a certain amount of evidence, whether sufficient or inconclusive, had been adduced by Mr. Taylor to show that Francis was the handwriter of the Junian Letters. This evidence was an element in the question of authorship, and had to be dealt with by any one who entered seriously into the Junian controversy. But, with one exception, Sir Charles Grey wrote as if such a work as 'Junius Identified' had never appeared. He published no facsimile of the handwriting either of Horace Walpole or of Mr. Mason; and he made no allusion of any kind to the subject of handwriting. His Letter, without any additions, was reprinted, while he was still alive, in a new edition of Horace Walpole's Letters, in 1846.

2. Next in order came Mr. John Britton (*b.* 1771, *d.* 1857), author of the 'Cathedral Antiquities of Great Britain' and of various other works connected with architecture. In 1848, he published a work, entitled, 'The Authorship of the Letters of Junius Elucidated,' in which he propounded the theory that Colonel

Barré (*b.* 1726, *d.* 1802) was author of 'Junius, and that Mr. William Greatrakes was his amanuensis. The following are his principal remarks on handwriting (page 91):—

"It would be hardly proper to conclude an Essay on the Authorship of "Junius without some remarks on his *handwriting*, a subject which has received "particular attention from every writer on the subject since the facsimiles of the "Letters in Woodfall's possession were engraved and published. The penman- "ship of the Junian Letters is most peculiar. Notwithstanding a resemblance in "the formation of certain words and letters, no unprejudiced person can regard "it as the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis. It is still more unlike that of Lord "George Sackville, and I must acknowledge it is widely different from that of "either Lord Shelburne or Colonel Barré. Dunning's handwriting is nearer to "that of Junius than that of any other of the presumed authors. It is not difficult "to imagine that, by a very slight effort, he could have so disguised his ordinary "writing as to present the exact character and appearance of the mysterious "correspondence. But, having seen the papers in Mr. Woodfall's possession, "I have arrived at a conclusion which the facsimiles would equally lead to: that, "whoever was the penman, the writing was his natural hand, and not in any "way disguised."

Having enunciated this series of propositions without offering proof of any one of them, Mr. Britton advanced the hypothesis that a Mr. William Greatrakes was the copyist of the Junian Letters under the immediate superintendence of Colonel Barré. Mr. Britton, however, did not publish any facsimile of Mr. Greatrakes's handwriting, but based his opinion on a facsimile of the signature, "Will Greatrakes," in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for December, 1813. He says of that signature that "it bears at least as much resemblance to the hand- "writing of Junius as that of Sir Philip Francis or any other candidate." It will be instructive to any one who wishes to make progress in the comparison of handwritings to study Mr. Chabot's reasons for denying this assertion. There are those who write as if under the impression that, when one person has asserted and another has denied the mutual resemblance of two documents, all discussion is closed; as if perception of likeness and unlikeness were to be classed with matters of taste, concerning which it is proverbially said that men ought not to argue. Mr. Chabot's analysis of the individual letters which compose the signature of Will Greatrakes (page 205) will tend to dissipate erroneous impressions of this kind. He specifies several points of difference between that signature and the Junian

handwriting. It is unlikely that any one who has mastered them will hereafter hazard the conjecture that Mr. William Greatrakes was the amanuensis of Junius. All the points mentioned by Mr. Chabot are worthy of notice; but attention may be specially directed with advantage to what is stated respecting the formation of the letter *a* in the signature. The observations on this head should be read in conjunction with those in page 140 on the formation of the same letter by Lady Temple, and with the observations in Mr. Chabot's Report (page 277) on the formation of that letter by Richard Tilghman.

3. In 1850, a series of articles on the Junian question appeared in the 'Athenæum' newspaper. Those articles have long been attributed without contradiction to the late Mr. Charles Wentworth Dilke (*b.* 1789, *d.* 1864), who was the proprietor and, at one time, the editor of that literary weekly journal. The tendency was decidedly adverse to the claims of Sir Philip Francis; and they are known to have influenced the opinions of many able men in the same direction during the last twenty years. To a writer with Mr. Dilke's views, certainty as to the handwriter of the Junian Letters would have been a point of considerable importance. For although his opinions were very decided, he did not, like a common partisan, or advocate, press into his service every argument which might be urged with some plausibility. Thus the argument against Francis from the supposed inferiority of his acknowledged productions to those of Junius was rejected by him with honourable candour. He stated that he did not agree with Dr. Parr, Mr. Butler, and Mr. Barker, that the verdict must be against Francis on account of this argument; and he made an original remark respecting anonymous writers which is peculiarly valuable, as coming from one who must have had numerous opportunities of forming an opinion on the subject. "Francis," he said, "was a man of great ability, and "made manifest great power in some long subsequent pamphlets; and every man "writes with more than usual power and daring who writes anonymously." Still, what Mr. Dilke declared to be wanting, and in the absence of which he expressed the hope never again to hear the name of Francis associated with Junius, was that some "one *fact* shall have been established, showing a connexion between "them."—*Athenæum*, 1850, page 996. Now, if the whole or any one of the Junian Manuscripts was handwritten by Francis, this would be evidently one fact, and, it may be added, a very important fact, "to show a connexion" between him and Junius; and it thus becomes desirable to know how Mr. Dilke dealt with

the question of handwriting. His mode of proceeding was as follows. He first, in the subjoined passage, treated of spelling and punctuation :—

"As to peculiarities of spelling and punctuation, every one conversant with the "period knows that the practice even of the same writer was not uniform—and "Junius we know was not uniform. After all, as Mr. Barker has observed, 'the "'insecurity of such an argument is this, that a single instance of a similar prac-"'tice observed by any other writer destroys its whole force'—and of many of the "examples adduced by Mr. Taylor, Mr. Barker proceeds to produce like "examples from contemporaries—indeed the extent of possible proof is a mere "question of labour. But in respect to papers printed in periodicals, all such "comparisons are quite idle. There is no time to consult writers or submit "proofs; at present, therefore, a uniform system is adopted, and, unless special "instructions be given, orthography and punctuation are, within limits, left to "the printer. But a hundred years ago neither printer nor readers were very "particular on this point. Spelling and punctuation now would be considered "proof only as to the usage of the printing office—then, of that of a compositor "or reader."

I agree with the opinion expressed in this passage as to the insecurity of any argument derived from the spelling in manuscripts of one author compared with the spelling of another author in his printed works. Some authors indeed insist on their own modes of spelling being followed by their printer; but others are wholly, or partially, indifferent on the subject. It is proper, however, to mention that in the "Author's Edition" of 'Junius,' published in 1772, the peculiarities of spelling in the manuscripts still extant seem to have been all, with one trivial exception, reproduced. This may or may not have been the case in the printed works of Francis; but the point is not to be assumed. In this volume, all the arguments of Mr. Chabot in pages 86–89 are derived solely from the spelling in manuscripts; though, in page 77, an instance of abbreviation is taken from a printed document, in which the spelling was evidently intended to be copied from the manuscript.

There is, however, one observation in the preceding passage of which the first principle, as adopted by Mr. Dilke from Mr. Barker, appears open to serious objection. It is not sound to maintain that, if a peculiar practice in spelling, common to Junius and Francis, is pointed out, "a single instance of a similar "practice observed by any other writer destroys its whole force." This would only be the case if that particular practice, standing alone, were relied on as

proving Junius and Francis to be the same person; but the case would be different if that practice were merely pointed out as one of many in which the two writers coincided. Mr. Chabot's remarks on spelling, which commence in page 86, will illustrate this point. He there specifies nine individual words and one class of words in which Junius and Francis concurrently deviate from the standard of spelling in Dr. Johnson's Dictionary of 1773. The whole force of the inference to be derived from this fact would by no means be destroyed by showing of each deviation separately that there were even many instances of a similar deviation in contemporary writers. The interesting point to ascertain would be whether any other contemporary writer concurred with Junius in the use of all those deviations combined. And if one such contemporary were discovered, this might weaken, but it would by no means destroy, the whole force of Mr. Chabot's observations on spelling. For he offers them not as in themselves conclusive, but merely as corroborative evidence; and they would not lose their whole force unless the other contemporary who concurred with Junius in all his deviations from Dr. Johnson's standard in spelling likewise rivalled Francis in the habits and peculiarities of the Junian handwriting.

Having made his observations on spelling, Mr. Dilke then proceeded to notice the Junian handwriting in the following manner:—

"Comparisons of handwriting are still less entitled to consideration. We know "that many persons are very confident in pronouncing judgment on such matters, "but as yet it is not decided whether the Letters of Junius are in a natural or "a feigned, in a man's or a woman's, handwriting. Then, Almon confidently "asserted that they were in the handwriting of Boyd. Mr. Coventry published "facsimiles as conclusive, in his opinion, that Lord George Sackville was the "writer. Dr. Girdlestone did the same as proof in favour of his protégé, General "Lee. Mrs. Serres made Dr. Wilmot testify against himself in like fashion;— "and we have had letters and papers privately submitted to us, as evidence for or "against others. In 1828 a manuscript poem, 'The Vices,' was found amongst "the papers of Almon, the bookseller, which, on the strength of the handwriting "alone, was declared to be by Junius—published—laughed at and forgotten. "Arguments of equal force, drawn from the same premises, in favour of different "persons, counterpoise each other—and so end by showing that they have no "weight at all."

The point most worthy of attention in the preceding passage is that the assertions and opinions of four different persons are dignified with the name of

" arguments;" and then, without any proof, these arguments are said to counterpoise each other, as being of equal force. The obvious answer is that Mr. Almon, Dr. Girdlestone, and Mrs. Serres cannot be correctly said to have " argued " the subject at all. They published specimens of the handwriting of Mr. Boyd, General Lee, and Dr. Wilmot, and they enunciated propositions; but they did nothing more. Mr. Coventry went further, and had thus a decided superiority over the other three. He gave facsimiles of particular words and letters of Lord George Sackville, in juxtaposition with words and letters of Junius. This was unobjectionable as one element in investigations of this kind, and Mr. Taylor, in 'Junius Identified,' acted to a certain extent on the same principle. But Mr. Taylor did a great deal more. He pointed out numerous *habits* of handwriting common to Junius and Francis, while Mr. Coventry did not even attempt to pursue a similar method. Hence Mr. Taylor possessed a superiority over Mr. Coventry, not of degree merely, but of kind; and as Mr. Coventry was superior to Mr. Almon, Dr. Girdlestone, and Mrs. Serres, there was no ground for regarding the " arguments " of the four as all of equal weight with the arguments of Mr. Taylor. It is as if in a competitive examination an examiner had marked five competitors as equal, declaring himself unable to discern any difference in their relative merits, when he ought to have awarded scarcely any marks at all to three of them, and should have given to one of the remaining two at least twice as many marks as he gave to the other.

4. In 1851, Mr. William Cramp (*b.* 1806, *d.* 1868) published the facsimile of a Letter of Mrs. Dayrolle, of which a photo-lithograph appears in this volume (Plates 253 and 254). This was contained in a Postscript to the work which he had published in the previous year to prove that the Earl of Chesterfield was Junius. All which he had then observed on the subject of handwriting was as follows:—

" The truth is that none of the facsimiles that have been brought into " comparison with the autographs of Junius bear much resemblance. The " handwriting of Junius is evidently greatly disguised, but it is more remarkable " for its *elegance* and *precision* than for any peculiar form either in the character " of the letters or the eccentricity of its general appearance. There is very little " difference discernible between the facsimile in the 'Chatham Correspondence,' " dated 2nd January, 1768, and the last Letter which Woodfall received on the " 19th of January, 1773, though some have discovered a tremulous appearance

" in the latter, indicating the approaches of age. The initial *C* used in the " private correspondence is precisely that of Lord Chesterfield."

Accompanying the facsimile of Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter, there were in the Postscript facsimiles of the first and the last of Junius's private Letters to Woodfall, and of a Letter written by Lord Chesterfield, dated July the 7th, 1767. Lord Chesterfield's Letter was expressly disavowed to be in the handwriting of the Junian autographs; but a table of comparisons was added to the facsimiles, in which words taken from Junius were compared with words taken from autographs of Mrs. Dayrolle. All these facsimiles were preceded by printed observations, in which the essential passages intended to prove identity of handwriting in Junius and Mrs. Dayrolle were as follows:—

" In Mrs. Dayrolle's letter, the distinctive marks of Junius's handwriting are " strongly developed; and although there is more space between the words, and " a greater freedom than is to be found in some of the autographs of Junius, " yet her letter contains all the elements for forming itself by care and practice " into the hand of the private letters to Woodfall."

The limited number of Mrs. Dayrolle's Letters will not admit a minute comparison, but "as far as single letters and words can be compared with the " autographs of Junius, the resemblance is complete, and in many instances " the identity of handwriting is very remarkable—such as in the formation of " the letters *a*, *s*, *p*, *w*, et cætera, and in the words 'have,' 'be,' 'well,' 'are,' " 'conspicuous,' and many others pointed out in the table of comparisons."

Meagre as the above statement is, it proceeds on a correct method. And if all the observations in it had been accurate, although they are far from being sufficiently numerous to warrant an inference as to the handwriter of Junius, they might have justified a desire for further investigation. Unfortunately, however, as is pointed out by Mr. Chabot, in pages 212–214, some of Mr. Cramp's observations appear to be by no means accurate.

5. In the year 1852, a new candidate for the authorship of Junius was proposed in Thomas, second Lord Lyttelton. His claims were set forth in an article in the 'Quarterly Review' (vol. 90, page 131) by Mr. David Trevena Coulton (*b.* 1811, *d.* 1857), a gentleman who had written a novel called 'Fortune,' who had long been a journalist, and who, during the last three years of his life, was the editor of a Conservative newspaper. The article was well written, evinced considerable ingenuity, and by some readers was

deemed conclusive in favour of Lord Lyttelton. As has been mentioned, Lord Lyttelton's claims seem barred by a physical difficulty; but it is not on this account less desirable to know how a gentleman with Mr. Coulton's literary acquirements dealt with the question of handwriting. Now the only paragraph on the subject in connexion with the article is the following, which appears as a note. It refers to four codicils which were added to Lord Lyttelton's will, and they are noticed in the following manner:—

"These Codicils are written in a large careless and irregular hand. At first "sight, it does not appear like the hand of Junius, but, on a careful inspection, "many points of resemblance are discovered, and of exactly such a nature as we "might expect to find between the natural and the disguised hand."

It is to be regretted that some of these many points of resemblance were not specified. Among the miscellaneous facsimiles, in Plates 255–258B, will be found six pages of Lord Lyttelton's handwriting. The reader may thus endeavour to ascertain those points of identity for himself. At the same time, he should read Mr. Chabot's observations in his second Report, tending to show that there are discrepancies between the handwritings of Junius and Lord Lyttelton which cannot be accounted for by the assumption of a disguise. Without reference, however, to the point whether Mr. Coulton's conclusions were or were not correct, it is to be remarked that, in contradistinction to the facsimiles and observations of Mr. Taylor, they were mere naked assertions, in which it would have been unreasonable for the public to place any reliance, as they were wholly unsupported by anything in the nature of proof.

6. In the very first year after the article in favour of Lord Lyttelton appeared in the 'Quarterly Review,' Mr. William James Smith supported the claims of Richard, first Earl Temple, to the authorship of Junius. Mr. Smith (*b.* 1800, *d.* 1869) was librarian at Stowe, and he was entrusted with the editing of the 'Grenville Papers'—a task which he most carefully and conscientiously performed. Mention has been already made of the facsimiles which he published in the 3rd volume of that work, to prove that the Junian MSS. were penned by Lady Temple as Lord Temple's amanuensis. It is now merely proposed to notice the method which he adopted in arguing specially for his own hypothesis and in dealing with the claims of Francis.

In reference to spelling, Mr. Smith's method was sound as far as it went;

and he quoted various words in which the spelling of Lady Temple coincided with that of Junius; such as "endeavor," "compleat," "extream," "stile," "cloaths," "farther," and "wast" for "waste." It was proper to notice these words, although they do not tell against Francis, as he has spelt them all in the same way when he has made use of them. The words "clothes" and "waste" do not occur in his writing in this volume, so it is uncertain whether he would or would not have spelt them in the same way as Junius. There is a similar uncertainty as to whether Lady Temple would or would not have agreed with Junius and Francis in spelling "alley" as "ally," "risk" as "risque," and "packet" as "pacquet." Thus for coincidence with Junius in spelling there is no proof of any very marked difference between Francis and Lady Temple.

In regard to punctuation, Mr. Smith only noted two coincidences between Junius and Lady Temple, subjoining the mention of one coincidence between Junius and Lord Temple. These are all set forth in Mr. Smith's own words by Mr. Chabot in pages 169 and 170 of his second Report. On the other hand, Mr. Smith does not seem to have been struck by Lady Temple's glaring defects in punctuation. These defects are specified by Mr. Chabot in page 167. They seem to be absolutely fatal to the hypothesis of her having penned documents such as the Junian MSS., which are, for the most part, so well punctuated.

If we advance, however, from spelling and punctuation to the formation of letters, Mr. Smith's method of reasoning is very unsatisfactory. He does not notice a single habit in the formation of letters as common to Junius and Lady Temple. Moreover, the habits specified by Mr. Taylor as common to Junius and Francis are only noticed in a general way. Mr. Smith states that in the engraved facsimiles of Francis's handwriting "there may be found a similarity in "the shape of certain letters common to almost every handwriting of the "period;" but he gives no proof of this assertion, which is certainly not accurate if it is meant to include the handwriting of Lady Temple. To do justice to Mr. Smith, the only passage in which he refers to Francis shall be set forth at length. After stating that there are certain points of handwriting indispensable in a candidate for the authorship of Junius, he proceeds as follows:—

"There must be an appearance of facility in the penmanship, and a certain "original similarity of character or style in the writing, which shows a capability "of being converted into the disguised hand.

"Now I conceive that these qualifications are so absolutely wanting in the "writing of some of the candidates who have been named as to render it almost

" an impossibility that they could have produced the handwriting used by Junius; " such, for instance, as the writing of Edmund Burke, William Gerard " Hamilton, of De Lolme, and of many other persons, including Sir Philip " Francis, whose pretensions have at various times formed the subject of inquiry.

" It is right, however, to mention that I have not had the opportunity of " examining the original autographs of the last-named gentleman: my judgment " is formed upon the facsimiles which have been engraved, and in which there " may be found a similarity in the shape of certain letters common to almost " every handwriting of the period, but nothing approaching to the original " character of that of Junius."

The most noticeable feature of this passage is its vagueness, as opposed to the definiteness of the coincidences which had been pointed out by Mr. Taylor, the definiteness of Mr. Chabot's answer to the main objection in the passage against Francis, and the definiteness of the reasons advanced by Mr. Chabot in his second Report against the claims of Lady Temple to the Junian hand. Take, for example, the expression " facility of penmanship," which is asserted to be an attribute of the Junian handwriting, which is denied to Francis, and which, according to Mr. Smith's views, must belong to Lady Temple. Mr. Smith does not attempt to explain what he means by " facility of penmanship," nor does he furnish any clue to his meaning by referring to particular instances wherein Francis is wanting in this facility.* Mr. Chabot, on the contrary, very fully explains *his* meaning when he denies this facility to Lady Temple. In pages 156 and 157 he calls attention to the manner in which Lady Temple disjoined letters in words, and he observes that in her Letter of January 12th, 1775 (Plate 217), there will be found at least one hundred letters entirely isolated from other letters in the words to which they belong, and three times that number written by a separate and distinct operation of the pen. Again, it is desirable to observe the definiteness of Mr. Chabot's successive reasons for denying the claims of Lady Temple. These are all founded on the principle that there are discrepancies in her hand from the Junian hand which are unlikely to have been the effect of design. But it is not merely *asserted* that such discrepancies exist. Individual discrepancies are successively pointed out in detail, commencing with the radical discrepancy in the formation of the small letter *a* (see page 139). Some of these dircrepancies are so subtle, and so little likely to have been thought of by Lady Temple, that even now, when they have been distinctly specified, many readers will be unable without assistance

to apprehend them, and to understand the full significance of Mr. Chabot's remarks.

7. In 1855, Mr. Massey published the 1st volume of his 'History of England during the Reign of George III.' The preparation for this work made it his imperative duty to make himself well acquainted with the Junian writings. It likewise brought him face to face with the problem of who was their author. The conclusion at which he arrived he stated with courage and with modesty. Several eminent men among his contemporaries had recorded their opinion in favour of Sir Philip Francis. Earl Stanhope, in his 'History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles,' had frankly expressed his clear conviction to this effect; and had consequently introduced into the body of his history an account of Sir Philip Francis's life. Lord Macaulay had not only expressed the same strong conviction in his article on Warren Hastings, but in his Letter to Mr. Murray, dated the 3rd of January, 1852, he had stated that the case in favour of Francis rested on coincidences such as would be sufficient to convict a murderer. Lord Campbell, who had been successively Solicitor-General and Attorney-General, and who was then Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, had used language almost equally strong. In his 'Lives of the Chancellors,' in his biography of Lord Chancellor Loughborough, published in 1847, he had stated that there was a case against Francis which was strong enough to convict him before a fair and intelligent jury. The independent course pursued by Mr. Massey was to give his reasons for differing from the conclusions to which so many men of eminence had arrived. He stated that "he was far from asserting that Francis "was not Junius, and that he only ventured to doubt that the evidence "amounted to that conclusive character which had been ascribed to it." He then discussed the question under various heads of argument; and dealt as follows with the evidence of handwriting, the only evidence with which I am concerned on the present occasion:—

"A similarity is traced between the handwriting of Junius and that of Sir "Philip Francis. Now it is agreed by all persons who have had experience in "trials at *Nisi Prius*, that there are few questions of fact so perplexing as the "identity of handwriting. Witnesses of intelligence and integrity constantly "differ in opinion as to whether a particular paper is written by a person with "whose handwriting they are familiar from habits of correspondence, or from "having seen him write. But comparison of handwriting—that is, the collation

" of one paper with another for the purpose of proving that both are in the same " handwriting—is a test so fallacious that it is utterly rejected by the English " law of evidence. Yet this is one of the proofs relied upon by the supporters " of what is called the Franciscan theory of Junius."—Page 397.

It will be seen that Mr. Massey in this passage abstains from entering into discussion on the comparison of handwritings on the ground of its being utterly rejected by the English law of evidence. Mr. Massey, who, at the time of publishing his 'History' in 1855, was a Member of Parliament, had been called to the bar in 1844; he had practised in the Courts of Common Law, and occasionally exercised judicial functions as Recorder of Portsmouth. He was, nevertheless, mistaken as to the state of the English law on this subject. In the Ecclesiastical Courts, in which, as is well known, all cases were decided by a single judge without the intervention of a jury, comparison of handwritings was always allowed. In the Courts of Common Law the case seems to have been different during the last century and a part of the present century. Of this discrepancy various explanations might be given. It was accounted for in the following manner by Lord Eldon and Lord Kenyon, as their words are quoted in the 'State Trials.' Lord Eldon said:—" There is a principle here that may account " for the difference of practice in the Ecclesiastical Courts and the Courts of " Common Law. Suppose some of the jury cannot read, how can they judge " of the similitude?"—Vol. xii. page 306. In the same spirit Lord Kenyon made the following observation:—" I remember Sir Joseph Yates once very well said " that all evidence ought to be adapted to those who are to try. Proof by com- " parison of hands would be no proof to a juryman who could not read."—Vol. ix. page 863. These explanations may or may not be sound; but, at any rate, they tend to show that it would be unsafe to assume from a difference as to allowing comparison of handwritings between the Ecclesiastical Courts and the Courts of Common Law, that either of the two was in the right or in the wrong, absolutely. Each may have been in the right, relatively.

In the present century, however, during many years previous to 1854, it had become definitively settled that comparison of handwritings was admissible even in the Courts of Common Law in two cases—1st, in the case of ancient documents; and, 2ndly, in reference to documents which were already in evidence in a cause. Thus even the Courts of Common Law admitted the principle that comparison of handwritings might be employed as an instrument in the investigation of truth. This principle was, indeed, in numerous instances rendered

practically inoperative by the rule which excluded all documents which were not in evidence in a cause from such comparison; but this rule seems to have rested on technical grounds,[1] which did not affect the soundness of the principle itself. In 1853, however, the Common Law Commissioners, in their very able Second Report, recommended the abolition of this rule of exclusion, and the restriction was accordingly abolished in civil cases by the Legislature in the Common Law Procedure Act of 1854. It was abolishod in criminal cases likewise in 1865, and at present several persons are undergoing punishment who have been convicted by juries on evidence founded on comparison of handwritings. Four of the Commissioners who signed the Second Report are now on the judicial bench: Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, Mr. Baron Martin, Mr. Baron Bramwell, and Mr. Justice Willes.

Without reference, however, to the English law of evidence, comparison of handwritings, as an instrument for ascertaining who is the handwriter of a disputed document, seems very superior to the declaration of a witness as to his belief, however familiar he may be with the hand of the supposed writer. If there are sufficient materials for comparison, this superiority is great, even when there is no disguise; and in the case of a really good disguise, the superiority is overwhelming. A witness who declares such belief can only form his opinion from comparison; but one of the terms of the comparison is withdrawn from the knowledge of others. That term of comparison exists simply in the memory of the witness, who has the type of a particular handwriting present to his mind. But the value of this type depends wholly upon the correctness of his original observations, and on the accuracy of his memory.

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[1] The supposed reasons for the exclusion were thus stated by the Common Law Commissioners:—"The ground on which the exclusion of "other writings as a medium of comparison is "said to rest is that this species of evidence "might cause inconvenience by raising collateral "issues, and come by surprise upon the party to "be affected by it. Another reason assigned is "that the party interested would select such "writings only as would best serve his purpose, "and that they would not be likely, therefore, "to exhibit a fair specimen of the handwriting, "and might be liable to the imputation of con-"trivance."—Page 25. The Commissioners then proceed to state that these reasons do not appear to them to outweigh the advantage of admitting the evidence; and they add that it seems to them indefensible in principle to allow a witness to institute a comparison with the recollection of writings which he may have seen long ago, and of which but a faint trace may remain on his mind, and yet to prohibit a fresh comparison with genuine writings, more especially when, for the purpose of trying the accuracy of the witness, it is proposed to apply the test of requiring his judgment on writing which is not disputed.

Unless he has previously studied a handwriting for the express purpose of comparison, his conclusions can scarcely ever be more than a strong mental impression of resemblance. For others, his opinion derives all its value from authority. He cannot go through the proofs of what he asserts; others cannot see what he thinks he sees in his mind's eye; and, if he has made a mistake in his type, his error cannot be proved to exist. Moreover, if he has to deal with a thoroughly well disguised hand, the general type in his mind ceases to have much value. The case is very different in the comparison of documents presented to the eyes of those who are to judge respecting them. Here they know both the terms of the comparison. Ultimately, their conclusions need not rest upon authority at all. A general expert in handwriting may point out coincidences in documents which a volunteer would not have observed, if the documents had been in his possession during a long series of years; but those coincidences are outward objective facts, the common property of experts and of volunteers. If the expert has skill in analyzing his own impressions, he can go through the proofs of everything which he asserts and can make others see what he sees. If he makes a mistake, his error admits of proof. Hence the case with which he deals, however complicated, becomes merely one of reasoning, in which internal circumstantial evidence is applied to demonstrate a disputed fact.

8. Next in succession comes Mr. Jelinger Symons, who, in 1859, published a volume entitled 'William Burke the Author of Junius.' Mr. Symons (*b.* 1810, *d.* 1860) was a barrister, who had written a work on 'Arts and Artizans at Home and Abroad,' and who in the last years of his life was an Inspector of Schools under the Committee of Privy Council for Education. He was a gentleman of undeniable good faith and integrity, and with more than ordinary intelligence; but the following is the manner in which he dealt with the question of Francis's handwriting. In his volume respecting Mr. William Burke there is a chapter with the heading "The Case for Francis and others;" and in this chapter, which purports to state the arguments in favour of Francis, and then to answer them, there occurs the following passage concerning Francis, page 129:—"He wrote "a handwriting very like Junius. General Lee wrote one still more like; and "so can any draughtsman who tries to imitate it.

The whole subject of handwriting is despatched by Mr. Symons in these words. The able and detailed observations of Mr. Taylor, by which he endeavours, in 'Junius Identified,' to point out a combination of habits in the hand-

writing of Junius and Francis, from which their identity is to be inferred, are generalised into the barren statement that "Francis wrote a handwriting very like "Junius." Mr. Symons then asserts that "General Lee wrote one still more "like;" but he does not offer any proof of his assertion. He finally states that "so can any draughtsman who tries to imitate it"—a statement which would be irrelevant unless it were alleged, what no one yet has alleged, that either General Lee or Francis had endeavoured to imitate the handwriting of Junius.

9. The last of the nine authors whom I have specified as having since 1840 ignored or contested the claims of Francis to the handwriting of Junius is Mr. Hayward, a Queen's Counsel, author of the 'Memoirs of Mrs. Piozzi,' and a well-known writer in reviews. Mr. Hayward had no candidate of his own to propose; and in this respect he differed from six of the other gentlemen, each of whom supported a particular candidate, though no two of them agreed in the selection of the same individual. His interposition in the controversy was occasioned by the publication of the 'Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis,' the result of the labours of Mr. Parkes and Mr. Merivale. This work, the contents of which fill two tolerably thick octavo volumes, appeared in November, 1867; and Mr. Hayward published a review of it in 'Frazer's Magazine' on the 1st of December in the same year. He subsequently republished the article in the form of a pamphlet, the drift of which will be understood from its title, 'More about Junius, or the Franciscan Theory unsound.' This pamphlet contains the following passage, in which he discusses the question of handwriting:—

"We have recently shown specimens of the handwriting of Junius and Francis "to at least thirty persons, including eminent lawyers and men of letters; and "they are all but unanimous that there is no similarity. We speak of generic "character; a far better test than the comparison of separate words or letters, by "the selection of which *experts* (like scientific witnesses before a committee) "commonly contrive to make out a plausible case for either side. We are not "aware whether any of the fraternity have been consulted on this occasion. "But we heard the late Sir William Follett relate that, in a celebrated will case, "having been instructed by his brief and given to understand in consultation "that experts would be forthcoming to prove that the will was in the hand-"writing of a particular person, he was subsequently supplied with direct "unimpeachable evidence that it was in the handwriting of another.

"There are several specimens amongst the facsimiles in Woodfall's edition

" which leave an impression that the respective writers were more likely (so " far as mere penmanship is concerned) to have written the Junius Letters " than Francis. Several of the letters of Junius (particularly one to Garrick, " of which a facsimile is given by Woodfall) are superior to Francis's best " penmanship in all the qualities in which a feigned hand is never superior " to a natural hand, supposing each to be the best of its kind."

Mr. Hayward then states in a note:—" One of the few points in which the " leading French experts were agreed at the trial of La Roncière was stated " thus: 'The Letters to M. La Roncière are written in a hand superior to his " ' own, and it is impossible for a man, in order to disguise his writing, to " ' do better than he does habitually.'—*The Law Magazine for May*, 1836. " The article was by the late Sir G. C. Lewis. English Courts of Justice " place small reliance on the evidence of experts, from long experience of " the imperfection of their methods and their art."

Mr. Hayward then quotes in the text the following passage from Mr. Charles Butler's Letter of July, 1799, to which I have already called attention. I have expressed my opinion on the main statements in this passage in a note to page xlvi, and I do not propose to notice them again.

" Our conversation on Junius's Letters began from a whimsical circumstance. " Business having carried me to Ireland in 1776, I wrote to Mr. Wilkes from " Holyhead; on my return he informed me that my Letter had been stopped at " the post office, from the similarity in the handwriting to that of Junius's. " This made me wish to see the originals of Junius's Letters, and he produced " them to me. We more than once examined them together with great " attention. All of them, except the letter to the King, are, if I remember " rightly, in the same handwriting. It is like that which well educated ladies " wrote about the beginning of the century; a large open hand, regular, " approaching to the Italian. Mr. Wilkes had a card of invitation to dinner " from old Lady Temple, written in her own hand; on comparing it with " Junius's Letters, we thought there was some resemblance between them. " *The letter to the King was in a handwriting perfectly different;* a very " regular staid hand, no difference between the fair stroke and the body of " the letters; when I see you I will shew you some writing very similar to " it. As to my own handwriting, it has not now the slightest resemblance " to it, nor do I think it ever had any."

Finally, Mr. Hayward closes what he has to state on the subject of

handwriting by the following statement in a note :—" Lady Temple's writing " comes the nearest to that of Junius of any that have been compared with " it. See the Facsimiles in the 'Grenville Correspondence,' vol. iii."

The foregoing remarks are apparently the last which any one has published under his own name on the handwriting of Junius. Considering that they are the production of a practised reviewer, who has attained a high legal position, they may fairly be regarded as representing the ideas of many literary and legal gentlemen at the close of 1867—a few months before Mr. Chabot commenced his investigation. For this reason it is proposed to offer some detailed observations on the extract from the review; premising that the points which it is most important to scrutinise, in every one who interposes in controversies of this kind, are his first principles, his method of investigation, and his method of proof.

(1). Mr. Hayward states that he had recently shown specimens of the handwriting of Junius and Francis to at least thirty persons, and he lays considerable stress on the result. Under these circumstances, it is to be regretted that, when he republished his review as a pamphlet, he did not publish facsimiles of these specimens, unless such facsimiles were already before the world. In any case, it would have been advisable to enter into particulars respecting those specimens, and to inform readers where they might be seen. Mr. Taylor, in 'Junius Identified,' had given facsimiles of the handwriting both of Francis and of Junius. The editors of the 'Chatham Correspondence' had done the same. The very work which Mr. Hayward was reviewing contained other such facsimiles. Two of these, which were facsimiles of Francis's handwriting during the Junian period, were particularly valuable. One was an extract from a Letter to his wife, written on the 30th of July, 1771; the other was an extract from a report by Francis, in March, 1770, of a speech made by Lord Mansfield in the House of Lords. Even after the inspection of the photo-lithographs in this volume, those two facsimiles may be referred to with profit, as illustrating habits common to Francis and Junius which had been pointed out by Mr. Taylor. As Mr. Hayward was reviewing the book which contained them, it would have been most reasonable to have shown those facsimiles, if he showed any facsimiles, to the thirty persons. If he showed originals of Francis's writing, and not mere facsimiles, it would have been desirable to

have specified where the originals might be inspected, the year in which they were written, and the quantity of matter which they contained. At present, the public knows nothing of these specimens, and cannot be expected to attach importance to autographs or facsimiles concerning which they are wholly in the dark.

(2). It is unfortunate that Mr. Hayward should have taken the trouble to show his specimens to upwards of thirty persons, and that the result should have been a mere report of their opinion on a point which in comparisons of handwriting is by no means vital. Stress is laid on their opinion that there was no similarity, or at least no "generic" similarity, between the documents compared. The word "generic" is ambiguous. It would be a remarkable coincidence if thirty persons made use of this word independently; and if they merely adopted it in a question propounded to them, it would be by no means certain that each meant the same thing by the same word. Given the most probable meaning of the passage, that the compared documents belonged to two different "genera," or kinds, of handwriting, this fact, if true, and fully admitted, would by no means prove that they were not penned by the same hand. Two documents generically similar may be written by different persons, and two documents generically unlike may be written by the same person. There is no reason why a penman should not, for the purpose of disguise, adopt a genus, or kind, of writing different from his own. This is precisely what an educated anonymous writer would endeavour to achieve; and what, if he were a skilful penman, he might do successfully. Hence the opinion of the thirty persons, even if it were admitted to be correct, would prove nothing essential. If, instead of thirty, and a few more, three hundred or three thousand individuals had expressed the same opinion, the fact would still have remained a point of very secondary importance, in comparison with the positive coincidences pointed out by Mr. Taylor.

(3). Mr. Hayward further states that there are several specimens amongst the facsimiles in Woodfall's edition which leave an impression that the respective writers were more likely (so far as mere penmanship is concerned) to have written the Junian Letters than Francis. It is much to be regretted that he did not at the same time state to what specimens he alludes, and what are the features in their penmanship which conveyed to him the impression

which he communicates to the public. The same remark applies to his statement, of which he does not attempt to give any proof, that "Lady Temple's "writing comes the nearest to that of Junius of any that have been compared "with it." In the comparison of handwritings, general statements and assertions of this kind, when made by a volunteer, and unaccompanied by proofs, are not to be relied upon. They involve complex generalisations, which no one but a trained adept is competent to form accurately, and for which, in disputed questions, even a trained adept is bound to assign his reasons. In a volunteer, however skilled he may be in other branches of knowledge, they are as little to be trusted as the statements of nurses and elderly relatives, who pronounce a child at his birth to be like his father, mother, uncle, aunt, grandfather, or grandmother. They are nearly of as little value as the assertions of Polonius,[1] in whose eyes the cloud, at the suggestion of Hamlet, assumed successively the form of a camel, a weasel, and a whale.

(4). It is asserted that several Letters of Junius are superior to Francis's best penmanship in all the qualities in which a feigned hand is never superior to a natural hand, supposing each to be best of its kind. This would be an important discrepancy if the allegation were correct. No attempt, however, is made to specify what those qualities are. They are left to the imagination. The note throws no light upon those supposed qualities. It merely suggests the inference (and, otherwise, it would be irrelevant) that the handwriting of Junius is superior to the handwriting of Francis. It is unlikely that any one will advance such a proposition after having studied the photo-lithographs in this volume. But the proposition appears to me contrary to the evidence as it stood before the public when the review was written. The Letter of Junius which is specially singled out for praise is the Letter to Garrick; of which a photo-lithograph from the engraved facsimile in Woodfall's 'Junius' is given in Plate 89. With this may reasonably be compared the photo-lithograph in Plate 186, taken from the engraved facsimile of a Letter from Francis, which was published in

[1] *Hamlet.*—Do you see yonder cloud that's almost in shape of a camel?

Polonius.—By the mass, and 'tis like a camel, indeed.

H.—Methinks it is like a weasel.

P.—It is backed like a weasel.

H.—Or like a whale?

P.—Very like a whale.

H.—Then will I come to my mother by and by.—They fool me to the top of my bent.

Hamlet, III. 2.

'Junius Identified.' Three gentlemen who had been accustomed to give marks in competitive examinations for handwriting were requested to give marks on the same system to those two Letters, the maximum being one hundred. Not one of them had any suspicion as to why the request was made, and each gave his own marks, separately and independently. The result was that each gave somewhat the highest marks to the Letter of Francis, though the difference was not greater than six or seven. This seems to have been intelligent and careful marking; but every reader has an opportunity of forming an independent opinion for himself on this point. For my present purpose, it is sufficient for me to express the opinion that the Letter of Francis, as a specimen of penmanship, fully equals the Letter of Junius.

It may be proper to add that not only Mr. Taylor, but likewise Lord Brougham, had noticed the excellent penmanship of Francis. And in the 'Memoirs of Sir P. Francis,' which were the subject of the review, Mr. Parkes dwelt on the same topic. This was the more calculated to attract attention from his speaking of the "Pauline hand;" an expression based on the statement, for which there may or may not be adequate evidence, that, a century ago, the scholars of St. Paul's School, where Francis was educated, were noted for their good handwriting. A reviewer was not bound to adopt the opinions of either Mr. Parkes, Lord Brougham, or Mr. Taylor on this subject. But it would have been more satisfactory if he had noticed the existence of those opinions, instead of wholly ignoring them, and *assuming* that the penmanship of Junius was superior to that of Francis. A young reader who was a novice to the Junian controversy would naturally have inferred from this assumption that the superiority of Junius in penmanship was a settled fact, which was to be taken for granted in discussion as undenied and undeniable.

(5). Slighting allusion is made to experts and their methods. This work will enable the public to form a general opinion as to the respective merits of genuine experts and of volunteers. It is to be remembered, however, that Mr. John Taylor, the author of 'Junius Identified,' was not an expert; Colonel Pringle and Mr. William Stanhope Taylor, the editors of the 'Chatham Correspondence,' were not experts; and neither Mr. Parkes nor Mr. Merivale, the authors of the 'Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis,' was an expert. It would, perhaps, have been more to the purpose for a reviewer to have given an account of the evidence contained in their works than to have mentioned what Sir William Follett,

who was lost to his country more than twenty-five years ago, once said, that "he had understood in a consultation." The Reviewer confesses that he was not aware whether any expert had been consulted on this occasion. It is permissible, then, to suggest that it would have been well for him to have ascertained that point, before he introduced a topic which had a tendency to create a prejudice, and to divert attention from the evidence. As matters stand, his reference to that topic is very much as if any one who has been summoned to defend an action for debt in a County Court, should indulge in reflections on lawyers and their methods, while he confesses that he is not aware if any lawyer, whether advocate or solicitor, is employed against him, and when all that he has to do is to answer the evidence of his creditor.

Still, as the subject has been introduced, it is right to mention that the word "expert" is often used very loosely. It is frequently used to designate lithographers, or gentlemen connected with banks, who come forward as witnesses once or twice in their lives to express their belief that a particular document was or was not written by a certain individual. The word has, then, a meaning very different from that of general experts in handwriting, recognised as such in courts of justice, like Mr. Chabot and Mr. Netherclift, to whom cases of disputed writing are systematically submitted from time to time for their professional opinion, and who are prepared to state detailed reasons for every such opinion which they give. Having taken some pains to ascertain this point, I have been assured that during the last fifty years the number of such experts in London has been very few, and that there are only two such experts in established practice now. Hence, tales about experts should be received with distrust, unless names and particulars are mentioned, so that it may be ascertained in what sense the word "expert" is used.

It should be added that in discussions of this kind, when the case before the reader is not thoroughly argued, it is very unsafe to trust to quotations from memory of other cases. Every case of circumstantial evidence stands on its own merits; and it is always unsatisfactory when a writer, instead of meeting the evidence in the case before him, directs attention to some other case. The result may be inaccuracy, without any intention to deceive. Take, for example, the La Roncière case, which was tried in France as far back as the beginning of July, 1835. Very few persons are likely to have read the trial, or to have accurate knowledge on the subject. Mr. Hayward quotes the case in such a way as to produce the impression of there having been considerable difference of

opinion among the experts who were examined in it as witnesses. He states that one of the *few* points on which they agreed was in the principle which he erroneously assumed to be subversive of the claims of Francis to the Junian hand. This would accord with the ideas of those persons who fancy that experts in handwriting differ so much in opinion among themselves that no reliance is to be placed on their conclusions. Now as a matter of fact, there were four experts in the La Roncière case; and so far from their differing in opinion, there was such agreement between them that an extremely eloquent advocate opposed to them attempted to discredit their evidence on the very ground of their agreement. One might suppose that they had been guilty of some offence in agreeing. They were insulted for agreeing; and were compared to the Roman Augurs (more correctly, the *Haruspices*, who undertook to predict the future from the inspection of entrails), of whom it had been declared to be wonderful that they could look each other in the face without laughing. It was alleged that experts *always* agreed with each other, because they knew that, if they differed among themselves, the mark of infallibility would be wanting to their profession. For those who duly appreciate the eloquence and resources of advocates, the point is not of much importance, except for the sake of accuracy. Witnesses on these questions must either differ or agree; and advocates have always a commonplace at their command, whether scientific witnesses agree or whether they differ. In the La Roncière case, the commonplace was not employed of discrediting the experts because they differed in opinion among themselves. The other commonplace was used of discrediting the witnesses because they agreed.

What is of far more importance, however, in the comparison of handwritings, is the method of investigation. Mr. Hayward, while he criticises what he regards as the method of experts, has a method of his own which he candidly proposes to the public as a substitute. This is a mode of proceeding much to be desired in all similar cases; and it is strictly in unison with the course pursued by Mr. Milbourne, whom Pope praised as the fairest of critics because, when he found fault with Dryden's translation of Virgil, he exhibited his own version to be compared with that which he condemned. Mr. Hayward condemns the comparison of separate words or letters, and suggests the similarity of generic character as a far better test. It is right, therefore, that the comparative merits of the two methods should receive consideration.

It may be mentioned at the outset, that an expert would observe, as a

matter of course, the generic character of handwritings (in whatever way the word "generic" could reasonably be defined) in any two documents which he compared with each other. This would often be the very first point which he would observe in such documents. Nothing new, therefore, is involved in the suggestion that generic character should be observed as one test in the comparison of handwritings. What is new, or, if not new, what to an expert would seem radically unsound, is the suggestion that generic character would be a *better* test than the comparison of individual words or letters. As to letters, this can never be true. There is one case, and one case only, in which an observation of generic or general character might lead to an equally conclusive result. This would be in the comparison of two documents concerning which it was certain that there was no attempt at disguise in either of them, and that both were written at no very distant intervals of time. Here discrepancy of generic character might be conclusive negatively. But it would not be a *better* test than a comparison of separate letters. Such comparison would lead to precisely the same result, and would, moreover, prove the accuracy of the general statement. If there is a discrepancy in the generic character, there must be a discrepancy in individual letters, because it is the individual letters which produce the impression of the generic character. To deny this is like the fallacy of asserting that what is true in theory is not true in practice; on which fallacy the following words of Mr. John Austin, in 'The Province of Jurisprudence determined,' deserve to be carefully remembered (vol. i. page 43):—

"Seeing that a true theory is a compendium of particular truths, it is neces-
"sarily true as applied to particular cases. The terms of the theory are general
"and abstract, or the particular truths which the theory implies would not
"be abbreviated or condensed. But unless it be true in particulars, and therefore
"true in practice, it has no truth at all. Truth is always particular, though
"language is commonly general. Unless the terms of a theory can be resolved into
"particular truths, the theory is mere jargon; a coil of those senseless abstrac-
"tions which often ensnare the instructed; and in which the wits of the ignorant
"are certainly caught and entangled when they stir from the track of authority,
"and venture to think for themselves."

I adopt this passage entirely, *mutatis mutandis*, in reference to the comparison of individual letters, and of generic character. Whatever is true of the compendium or abbreviation, generic character, is likewise true of the particular

truths, individual letters. The compendium or abbreviation, if made correctly, may save time, and thus from one point of view may have an advantage. But this is more than compensated by the notorious inaccuracy of many observers, and the danger of hasty generalisations, against which comparison of individual letters is a safeguard even for an expert, and, of necessity, much more for a volunteer.

Even in the one case, therefore, of two documents written at about the same time, in neither of which there is any disguise, the test of generic character is not better, negatively, than the test of individual letters. But if we advance one step farther, to positive proof, generic character, standing alone, ceases to be a conclusive test at all, while a comparison of individual letters may be conclusive at once. There are two great classes of cases in which positive evidence has to be adduced that two documents were written by the same hand:—1st, where there is a disguise; and 2ndly, where there is no disguise. In both these classes generic character must always be inconclusive positively, for the very word "generic" involves the notion of what is common to many things or persons; and a character which is common to many handwritings, can never by itself bring a document home to any particular individual. There may, for example, be a generic similarity of hand in many writers from their having been educated in the same school, or taught by the same writing master; whereas the elementary principle which underlies all positive proof by comparison of handwritings, requires that in two documents alleged to be penned by the same hand, there should be individual coincidences which cannot be accounted for by any such accidental causes.

To understand the superior value of the comparison of individual letters, the reader has only to study attentively the observations of Mr. Chabot, extending from page 8 to page 11 inclusive, under the heading "Specialities in the Hand-"writing of Junius and Francis." All the specialities there mentioned, the *i* turned upside down, the addition made to the letter *t*, which has the effect of converting it improperly into a capital letter, and the peculiar mark of abbreviation for the words "Cavendishes" and "February" are each independent of generic character. The same is true of Francis's peculiarity, noticed in pages 12–14 inclusive, in forming the letter *h* without a loop after the letter *s*, although he formed it with a loop habitually under other circumstances. This singularly fine observation of Mr. Chabot has absolutely nothing to do with generic character. Both in Junius and in Francis, specimens of the letter *h*

occur with a loop and without a loop. But the oddity or eccentricity of Francis in forming it without a loop after the letter *s*, and the fact of his transferring this oddity to such a very great extent into his Junian hand, notwithstanding the greater luxuriance of the bows in that hand, are strong and telling points which would never have been observed without the closest attention to the comparison of individual letters.

It would be easy to multiply instances of the same kind from the Reports of Mr. Chabot, but it may be sufficient to direct attention to two other such instances. In pages 33–35 he has specified the occasions on which Junius and Francis avoided the use of the curled form of the letter *d*; and in pages 17–22 he has mentioned the varying circumstances under which they concurred in writing the letter *r* with its shoulder to the right or its shoulder to the left. Generic character would have been satisfied by their making use of the various forms of those letters in equal proportions; but the inference to be drawn from the coincidence of the circumstances under which the variations occurred is as strong as can be derived in numerous other subjects from reasonings on circumstantial evidence. In fact, to say in all these cases that generic similarity is far better than a comparison of separate letters, is as if in the identification of individuals any one were told that he should pay attention to the general appearance rather than to separate features or peculiarities; whereas he would sometimes make the grossest mistakes unless he acted on precisely the contrary principle. Two individuals, as, for example, twins, have sometimes such general similarity that an unobservant, or short-sighted, person has a difficulty in distinguishing them apart, although he may see them frequently. But an accurate observer knows one from the other by a minute deviation from straightness in the nose, by a trifling scar on the left side of the forehead, by a mole under the right ear, by a slight peculiarity in the teeth, or by an occasional twitch about the mouth.

The foregoing remarks close the detailed notice of the manner in which, during the period of about twenty-eight years before Mr. Chabot undertook the following investigation, nine different authors either ignored, or inadequately discussed, the claims of Francis to the Junian hand. Notwithstanding their literary or legal merits, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that on this particular subject Mr. John Taylor, in 'Junius Identified,' was superior, not only to each of them individually, but to all of them collectively. With varied information

in other branches of knowledge, some of them on this special topic seem to have known so little that they did not even know its elementary principles, or seem to be aware that others might possibly know more on the subject than themselves. If property, or a peerage, had depended on this question of handwriting, and Mr. John Taylor had given evidence on one side, and the nine gentlemen on the other, the only danger would have been lest a jury might have over-estimated the strength of Mr. Taylor's evidence from the weakness of the counter evidence given by the nine gentlemen. Some of the statements made by them would have been wholly excluded in an English Court of Justice as mere hearsay. Much of what they wrote, being simply the enunciation of propositions which stood in need of proof, was no evidence at all. One of the nine wholly ignored the question of handwriting; one refused to enter into a discussion of the subject, under the mistaken idea that comparison of handwritings was utterly rejected by the English law of evidence; another asserted that generic similarity was a far better test than a comparison of individual letters; another rated the evidence of handwriting for Lord George Sackville, Dr. Wilmot, and General Lee, as high as the evidence for Francis; and, of the remaining five, only one pointed out any coincidence in the formation of letters between Junius and the individual whom he selected as the handwriter of that author's productions. Indeed, perhaps the chief value of the remarks of many of them consists in their illustrating the truth that knowledge and ability in other subjects has no necessary connexion with skill in the comparison of handwritings.

At the same time it is fair to mention, as an explanation of some deficiencies, that no work conveying instruction on the comparison of handwritings seems ever to have appeared in England; and that, as far as Francis is concerned, the quantity of his handwriting hitherto accessible to the public was not sufficient for the proof of many habits observed by Mr. Chabot. Indeed all the Facsimiles of his Autographs which have been published in 'Junius Identified,' in the 'Chatham Correspondence,' and in the 'Memoirs of Sir P. Francis,' do not, combined, quite equal in the number of words the first Letter of Francis contained in this volume.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

Under the circumstances indicated by the preceding observations, the present Work is published in the hope that it may not only furnish proof as to who was the handwriter of the Junian Manuscripts, but that it may likewise diffuse information generally respecting the comparison of handwritings. The work was advertised more than a year ago; and even at that time the Reports of Mr. Chabot contained far more than the amount of evidence which was requisite solely to show that the Junian Manuscripts were penned by Sir Philip Francis. Subsequently, however, Mr. Chabot entered into new veins of comparison and inquiry; and I readily consented that the publication of the work should be delayed, not so much from a desire to strengthen the evidence on the Junian question, which was strong enough already, as, from a conviction that everything additional which Mr. Chabot might write on that special subject would be useful to the public on more general grounds. The principles which underlie all proof by comparison of handwritings are very simple, and, when distinctly enunciated, appear to be self-evident. To prove that two documents were written by the same hand, coincidences must be shown to exist in them which cannot be accidental. To prove that two documents were written by different hands, discrepancies must be pointed out in them which cannot be accounted for by accident or by disguise. These principles are easy to understand, but to exemplify them in observation is by no means always easy. It is not the merely having bodily eyes which enables any one to see in two documents either discrepancies or coincidences. In the words of Epicharmus, which are the motto of this work, "Mind sees, and Mind hears; all things else are deaf and blind." Fossil shells have been visible on the crust of the earth ever since it was trodden by man. Nothing was wanting to see them but mind. "We receive but what "we give," as the poet Coleridge says. This is notoriously true in botany, mineralogy, zoology, and all the sciences of observation. It is not merely by looking at a plant, or a mineral, or an animal, that any one really sees it. This is true of all the productions of nature, and it is equally true of whatever is elevating, or beautiful, or graceful, or minute, in the works of man. It is true of a cathedral, a statue, or a picture, of Grecian vases or of ancient coins. It is likewise true of handwritings. It is idle for an unpractised volunteer to look at two documents, and to suppose that he sees what is in them. He does not know what to observe. He may fancy that two handwritings are similar, when their

essential differences are numerous; or he may pronounce them to be wholly unlike, when, radically, they are identical.

It is here that Mr. Chabot's Reports may be generally useful by instructing students in points which they should observe. This may be better done by example than by any formal precepts. Moreover, his remarks are more likely to be read, connected as they henceforward will be with the handwriting of Junius, than if they were recorded in a separate treatise with illustrations taken from various facsimiles of inferior interest. And perhaps there is no class of persons to whom they may be so instructive as to those who, directly or indirectly, are connected with the administration of justice. It sometimes happens that it is impossible to detect the author of anonymous letters or of a forged signature, except by a comparison of handwritings. A bad and base man may successfully have taken such precautions that no human eye saw his hand while it was penning a particular document, and that no external evidence is in existence to trace that document into his possession. In such a case, everything in a trial may depend on the special knowledge which is brought to bear on the internal evidence of the document itself by the Advocates, the Jury, and the Judge. From ignorance of the subject an advocate sometimes does not ask the proper questions of an expert, whose evidence is favourable to his cause. From similar ignorance an advocate on the other side is frequently driven into the subterfuge of declaiming against experts, when, if he had a little knowledge of the subject, he might weaken the force of adverse evidence by two or three reasonable objections. And if in a trial either the judge or a single prejudiced juryman held the opinion that no certainty could be arrived at by comparison of handwritings, or that in such comparison it was a better test to look to general character than to individual letters, there might easily be an absolute miscarriage of justice. If accused of writing malicious and libellous anonymous letters, a guilty man might escape, or an innocent man be condemned. When important interests were at stake a genuine will might be rejected as a forgery, or a forged will might be accepted as genuine.[1]

[1] In the Matlock Will Case (Cresswell *v.* Jackson), which was tried before Lord Chief Justice Cockburn and a London Special Jury in 1864, three codicils to a will were rejected as forgeries. In this case, in which Mr. Chabot gave evidence against the codicils, everything, as far as handwriting was concerned, depended on minute differences, which he pointed out, and which the Chief Justice, on the 1st of March, 1864, in a summing up of remarkable ability,

Finally, it is to be remembered that the evidence of the identity of Junius and Francis as handwriters is cumulative; that is to say, the force of the evidence depends not on any one single coincidence, but on numerous coincidences varying materially in their individual strength, which, when viewed in connexion, lead irresistibly to one inference alone, though each by itself may be inconclusive. A common fallacy in dealing with such evidence is to take each coincidence separately, and to show that a similar coincidence exists in some other writer. This would be a perfectly legitimate mode of reasoning, if any one coincidence so dealt with were adduced as in itself conclusive; but it fails to meet the requirements of the case, when the argument is based on the combination of many such coincidences collectively, and not on the separate existence of any one of them. Perhaps the best illustration of the force of cumulative evidence is one which is not now made for the first time, but which is not, on this account, the less valuable. It is the inference that dice are loaded, founded on the observation that the same numbers—say, double sixes—are thrown so many times, say, thirty times running, that the fact cannot possibly be accounted for by chance. In such a case it would be vain for an advocate to attempt to shake the inference by stating after each individual throw that every dice-player sometimes threw double sixes, or occasionally threw many double sixes in succession. The point would be that the double sixes are thrown thirty times running.

Applying this illustration to Mr. Chabot's Reports, it would be well, after studying them, to review connectedly all the instances of habits which he has pointed out as common to Junius and Francis. In page 134, ten such habits are specified, which are not necessarily dependent on the mode of forming letters. Of these, the very first habit is likely to be so rare that it will probably be difficult to find a parallel in any contemporary of Junius and Francis. If such a parallel is discovered, the point will arise whether such habit is found in conjunction with the second habit; and if this is so, whether these two are found in conjunction with the third habit, and so forth. And then, if all these ten

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brought in detail under the notice of the jury with his own comments. If the case had been tried by a judge under the influence of either of the principles mentioned in the text, the forgery would probably have been successful. The summing up of the Lord Chief Justice was published the same year from a transcript of the short-hand writer's notes (*London, Alfred Boot, Dockhead*, 1864). It will amply repay perusal as a specimen, generally, of intellectual power; but it also deserves special attention as a luminous model of the manner in which evidence founded on a comparison of handwritings may be presented to a jury.

habits are found combined in any other individual, the question will present itself whether the same person unites the nine characteristics enumerated in pages 101 and 102. And, if even those characteristics belong to him, a question will still remain whether the same individual combines the nine habits as to the formation of letters which are specified in page 133. There is thus a union of at least twenty-eight habits or characteristics in Junius and in Francis; some of them, though really distinct, running closely into each other; but some of them involving a complex variety of minor habits or peculiarities. All these habits are to be viewed in connection with the evidence, which shows that Francis has left the mark of his undisguised hand on the Proof Sheets of Junius; and then, commencing with the facsimiles in this volume of the autographs of seventeen different contemporary writers, search should be made to ascertain how many of those twenty-eight habits or characteristics coexist in any other autographs. The ultimate point to be decided will be whether the combination of all of them in Junius and in Francis can be accounted for except by the fact that the Manuscripts of each were penned by one and the same hand. The decision of this point is left to the judgment of candid and dispassionate men, who are careful not to let their minds be affected by opinions respecting the authorship of Junius, and whose main object is simply to arrive at a definite conclusion as to who was the handwriter of the Junian Manuscripts.

THE HANDWRITING OF JUNIUS.

25, Southampton Row, Russell Square,
21. January. 1871.

THE HON. EDWARD TWISLETON.

SIR,—On the 12th April, 1868, you transmitted to me a Letter Book, containing, amongst others, forty-two original manuscript Letters, written by Mr. Francis, afterwards Sir Philip Francis, in the five years from 1767 to 1771 inclusive; also three volumes of Woodfall's 'Junius,' containing eight Letters or Notes in the handwriting of Junius, five of which were written in 1769, and three in 1771. At the same time you referred me to facsimiles of other writings of Junius, which had been made by the late Mr. William James Smith, the editor of the 'Grenville Papers;' and to the original manuscripts of Junius, which had lately been purchased from Mrs. Parkes for the British Museum.

In reference to those facsimiles and manuscripts, you requested that I would submit them to a most searching comparison with the Letters of Sir Philip Francis, and state my opinion whether the Letters of Sir Philip Francis and of Junius respectively were or were not written by one and the same hand; also that I would give my reasons for such opinion, accompanied with most copious details, so as to enable enquirers with intelligent and unprejudiced minds to form an independent opinion themselves on the soundness of my conclusions.

On the 12th August, 1869, I had the honour of submitting to you a full Report in conformity with those instructions; and in the month of October following you returned me that Report, together with three others written by me on separate questions, requesting that I would revise all four, and adapt them for publication.

When those questions were first submitted to me, I had no idea that my Reports were to be published. Had I received any intimation of such intention, I might have shrunk from the undertaking of answering them, well knowing the contumely with which professional opinions on handwriting are received in many quarters. Having, however, from time to time, as I could find leisure from other

professional engagements, made several thorough investigations of the subjects entrusted to me, I am now only anxious, whilst complying with your request, to set forth in the following pages the results of those investigations in as clear a light and as fully as possible.

Agreeably with your instructions of 12th April, 1868, I have made a most minute and very lengthened examination of the forty-two original Letters in the Letter Book which were written by Sir Philip Francis, also two others, which have since been placed in my hands, written by him respectively in the years 1770 and 1782, and have carefully sought out and enquired into the peculiar features which distinguish and identify the handwriting of those Letters. I have also, with the same object in view, made an extensive examination of the handwriting of all the Letters and Manuscripts of Junius to which my attention was then directed, and others which have since been placed in my hands. The following are the results of those investigations.

I find generally in the writing of the Letters of Sir Philip Francis so much variety in the formation of all letters which admit of variety as to render his handwriting difficult to disguise in any ordinary manner, and consequently easy to identify. I discover also in the writing of the Letters and Manuscripts of Junius variations in the formation of certain letters, in some cases very multifarious, and of frequent occurrence, and that these variations closely correspond with those observed in the writing of Sir Philip Francis. They are, however, chiefly confined to the small letters in both handwritings; the habitual formation of capital letters being seldom departed from in any essential particular in either. I find also, in some instances, wherein Junius makes exaggerated formations of certain letters, exact counterparts of them are to be found in the writing of Sir Philip Francis, and in some cases as nearly as possible with the same frequency. I further find in the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis a repetition of all, or nearly all, the leading features and peculiar habits of writing, independent of the formations of letters, which so distinguish the Junian writing. These are so numerous, so varied, and in some cases so distinctive, that, when taken collectively, it is scarcely within the limits of possibility that they can be found in the handwriting of any two persons. I am, therefore, irresistibly driven to the conclusion that the Junian Manuscripts and the forty-four Letters of Francis have all been written by one and the same hand.

I will now, as you have desired, direct attention to the reasons which have influenced me in forming my opinion, making such comments as I proceed as appear to me to be necessary.

Introductory Observations.

For the purposes of comparison and illustration, I have not failed to examine and make use of all the original manuscripts of Junius, formerly in the possession of the late Joseph Parkes, Esq., but now in the British Museum, bound up in four series, and catalogued, respectively, Additional 27,774, 27,775, 27,776, 27,777.

I must here acknowledge the great indulgence that has been extended to me by Mr. Bond, of the Manuscripts Department of the British Museum, by allowing me the fullest liberty to take facsimiles of the Junian Manuscripts as extensively as I desired. The hope expressed by him and by others that the subject would once for all be fully investigated will, I trust, in some measure be accepted as an apology for the numerous minor points to which I shall direct attention in the course of my Report.

In addition to the facsimiles in Woodfall's 'Junius,' and others to which you have referred me, I have, to enable me more fully to demonstrate my opinion, deemed myself at liberty to examine and make use of all published specimens of writing relative to the authorship of the Junian Letters. Thus I have studied attentively all the facsimiles in 'Junius Identified,' first published in 1817; those in the 'Chatham Correspondence,' published in 1840; and others in 'Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis,' published in 1867: also those published in 1816, by Dr. Busby, in support of Mr. De Lolme's claims to the Junian hand; those in the 'Life of Dr. Wilmot,' published by Mrs. Serres in 1813, advocating his claims; and those in 'Coventry on Junius,' published in 1825, in favour of Lord George Sackville. I have likewise studied those in 'Junius and his Works,' published by Mr. Cramp in 1850, in favour of Mrs. Dayrolle, as the amanuensis of Lord Chesterfield; and others in the 'Grenville Papers,' published in 1853, wherein the editor endeavours to prove that Lady Temple, as the amanuensis of Earl Temple, handwrote the Junian Letters. I will here observe of those publications that all, except 'Junius Identified,' seek to identify the handwriting of Junius by comparisons only of selected portions of writing or of words placed side by side. In that publication alone is attention directed to some of the principles which govern the handwriting, and to a similarity of certain characteristic habits in the two handwritings under discussion. With the observations therein I generally agree; and I further venture an opinion that the comparisons of handwriting exhibited in that publication, as also those in the 'Chatham Correspondence,' and in 'Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis,' are far more striking and satisfactory than in any of the other publications to which reference has been

made. The editor of the 'Grenville Papers' remarks generally on some of the leading features of the Junian hand, but makes little or no attempt to apply them to the hand of Lady Temple. He dwells more on peculiarities of spelling than on the handwriting, and he does not specify any points in his facsimiles in which the handwriting of Lady Temple is similar to that of Junius, but, no doubt, relies entirely on what he considers their general resemblance.

The comparisons, such as they are, which are set forth in 'Coventry on Junius,' and in 'Junius and his Works,' are of an unimportant character, and the inferences to be drawn from them are extremely limited, since the impression on the mind produced by them is in no instance carried beyond the words compared. Anonymous writers, when they disguise their hands, generally betray themselves in details: they rarely commit themselves throughout the writing of an entire word. Hence opportunities of comparing words become circumscribed. A comparison of letters taken separately affords not only a much larger field of observation, but in many cases invites attention to circumstances under which particular formations only of certain letters are employed, thereby pointing out what may prove to be very distinctive features of the writing under examination.

It frequently happens, however, that disguised writing may be identified, without making a comparison either of words or their elements, by certain habits attendant on the writers. Thus, when I find that Junius and Sir Philip Francis both wrote in paragraphs, and with equal frequency joined two or more words together, and that Lady Temple and Lord George Sackville rarely, if ever, did so (a single instance only of a junction of words occurring in all the writing of Lady Temple that I have examined, and that not in the body of a Letter; and no such instance in Lord George Sackville's), they are reasons, so far, for selecting Sir Philip Francis as the writer of the Junian Letters in preference to either of the other two competitors.

Some one or more of the many similarities existing between the handwriting of Junius and that of Sir Philip Francis, which I shall have to notice, may, doubtless, exist in the handwriting of Lady Temple, of Lord George Sackville, and of other persons, who have been set forth as having handwritten the Junius Manuscripts, and quite as many in other handwritings, but to a limited extent only. Junius was so versatile in the formation of many letters that few handwritings can be altogether exempt from points of similarities to his; but none can be found to exhibit them so abundantly and in so striking a manner as that of Francis; not only in regard to the varied formations of letters, but to certain dominant habits of style. It is in their cumulative effect that similarities

of a common character have weight. Such of those, to which I shall direct attention, as may be found in other handwritings might, doubtless, be open to objection if stress were laid on any one of them standing singly; but it is necessary, when dealing with such a subject as that now under consideration, that all definable points that are alike in the two handwritings under comparison should be set forth, irrespective of the pretensions of other handwritings to some of those points. The force of the inference depends on the strength of all the points of similarity viewed collectively. But there are other points in the Junian hand of an uncommon character, to which attention will be directed, which possibly exist in similarity in no other hand than that of Sir Philip Francis, to assail which successfully will be found no easy task.

I would therefore, in the first instance, confine criticism to the consideration of four points only, which I will here select, all of which are dissimilar in their nature, with this remark, viz.—that, taken in combination, no parallel to Junius's handwriting can be found to exist in that of any contemporary of Junius except Sir Philip Francis. The four points are these:—

1. The coincidences, in the two hands, of numerous and diversified formations of the letter *r*, and of the circumstances under which particular formations only were employed, as set forth at pages 14–22, and in Plates A to G.
2. The various modes of terminating words (pages 50–58, and Plates M and N).
3. The mode of inserting miswritten and omitted letters (pages 83–85, and Plate O).
4. The datings and openings of letters (at pages 121–129, and Plate Z).

Taking the single instance of the letter *r*, it will be difficult to find in the handwriting of any contemporary of Junius such an array of varied formations of that letter as undoubtedly exists in the handwriting of Francis, in close similarity to a like exhibition in the handwriting of Junius (see Plates A, B, C, D, and E); and it would, perhaps, be impossible, except in Junius and Francis, to find not only such numerous and diversified formations of that letter, but likewise similar concomitant variations of the circumstances under which peculiar formations only are employed.

If to those four points be added five others, my position will then, I believe, become impregnable. The five additional points are comparisons severally of the letters *h* and *d*, as set forth at pages 11 and 33; of the letters *f* and *i*, as set forth

at pages 23–32 and 46–48, and in Plates H and I; and of capital letters, as exhibited in Plates U, V, and W.

With these I will not confine comparisons to the handwritings of contemporaries of Junius, specimens of which, now, may not be readily obtained: but if a parallel to that of Junius and Francis on all the nine points can be found in any one of the innumerable handwritings which exist from the time of Junius down to the date of my report, then I will admit that another parallel might have been made in the time of Junius, and then only will I begin to doubt the correctness of the conclusions to which I have arrived. I am satisfied, however, that those who patiently follow me through, and impartially consider all the other numerous points to which I shall direct attention, will find, independently of the nine points to which I have referred, a cumulative amount of overwhelming evidence to justify those conclusions. Others who may not think the subject worthy of that attention, and who wish to make short work of the enquiry, may form a very fair estimate of the subject upon reference to the comparative facsimiles alone, which I have given in the twenty-six Plates A to Z.

Those plates, and all the woodcuts accompanying the text, have been executed under my own superintendence. Many of them have been copied from the original manuscripts, and some from the photo-lithographs taken from the originals by Messrs. Vincent Brooks, Day, and Co., which are appended hereto. In order to check any discrepancies which may arise from the two operations of first taking facsimiles and then engraving them, references to the photo-lithographs are in all cases annexed to the facsimiles where they are not given in the text. These, again, from the difficulties of the process, fail to render the writing where too faintly written, but otherwise must necessarily be absolute transcripts from the originals, and will be found sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes.

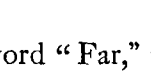
It is obvious, upon a momentary glance at occasional overstrained distortions in the writing of some of the Letters of Junius, that they are written in a feigned hand. Upon examination, however, I find that the principal features of the disguise consist of the very common practice of altering the accustomed slope, and, in many cases, writing in a smaller hand, whilst that which is of more importance, viz. the radical forms of letters, is repeatedly neglected. It is difficult, whilst the mind is engaged on the subject-matter of the writing, to avoid occasionally, indeed frequently, falling into some of the habits of writing peculiar to the writer. The simple expedients of altering the usual slope and size of the writing may be maintained without difficulty, but it becomes very trying to attend to details at the same time. I have rarely met with a writer who

could do so, and sustain a consistent and complete disguise throughout a piece of writing of moderate length.

It is much easier to maintain a deviation from the accustomed slope than from the accustomed size and strength of the natural hand. Junius succeeded far more uniformly with the former means of disguise than with the latter. This will become apparent upon referring to his first Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 1), and to the Essay which accompanied it (Plates 7–12). Both terminate in a larger hand than that in which they commence. His Letter to Woodfall, Plate 24, is written in a light and diminutive hand, but in his Letter, Plate 34, the writing assumes the strength and size of that of Sir Philip Francis; and in his Letter, Plate 28, which commences in a weak and diminutive hand, the writing of the latter part of that letter, commencing with the words, "it does not depend upon us," not only relapses into the same size, but into the same slope as Francis's writing. Upon a further reference to those Letters, and to Francis's Letter of 4th August, 1767 (Plate 105), it will be found that the general style of the writing of Junius's Letter No. 10 differs more from that of his Letter No. 6 than it does from that of Francis's Letter. The same observation applies on comparing Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plates 1 and 2), and his third to Woodfall (Plate 24), with Francis's Letter, Plates 123–125.

Francis's Letter of 9th January, 1768 (Plates 123–125), written one month only prior to Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plates 1 and 2), commences, like that Letter, in a careful hand, but the final page is heedlessly written, and has a very near resemblance to the large hand in which the final page of Junius's Letter is written, not only in strength of hand, but in the general character of the writing. An attentive examination and comparison of the writing in detail of these and other Letters of Junius and of Francis discover innumerable similarities in the two hands.

Similarities of common formations of letters, when of limited extent only, have little weight, but when they become numerous, they acquire importance from their cumulative power.

The degree of importance to be attached to a single point of comparison between two specimens of writing depends upon how far the point compared possesses speciality. What I mean is this:—Suppose a writer were apt to form a particular letter, in a particular word, in an unusual manner—say the letter *r* inverted in the word "Far," thus:  , finishing it with a shoulder at the bottom instead of in the more usual manner, at the top of the letter—that,

in an English handwriting, would be a speciality, possibly, peculiar only to one particular handwriting. Such a speciality found in two specimens of writing would give weight to other similarities of a common nature, to identify both specimens as coming from one and the same hand.

With these general observations I now proceed to direct attention to a series of coincidences in the handwritings of Junius and Sir Philip Francis respectively. Some of these will be found to be so peculiar and distinctive that, if they are regarded individually, and as standing alone, it is difficult to conceive they can be the result of mere accident. Others, although of less significance individually, become of very great importance from their cumulative power. Many of them are the result of rooted unconscious habit in Sir Philip Francis; others are inadvertencies into which he was casually betrayed by the force of habit, artificially acquired. But, whether individually strong or individually weak, whether they are the result of rooted habit or of inadvertence, the coincidences and peculiarities are so very numerous that they appear to me capable of only one explanation.

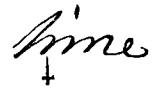
In arranging the observations which I shall have to make, I do not propose to follow the alphabetical order of the letters. Some advantages might, perhaps, have resulted from that method of proceeding; but I am convinced that I shall render my meaning more intelligible to general readers by adopting a different principle of arrangement, viz. that of making my observations follow each other in such order as is suggested by the connection of ideas.

For facility of reference, each letter in its alphabetical order will be found in the Index.

I now proceed to notice first some points which will be readily understood by all, and which appear to me best adapted to illustrate the preliminary observations with which I have introduced the subject.

Specialities in the Handwritings of Francis and Junius.

I. Sir Philip Francis was apt to write the letter *i* in the word "time" upside down, as in the following facsimiles:—



188.9

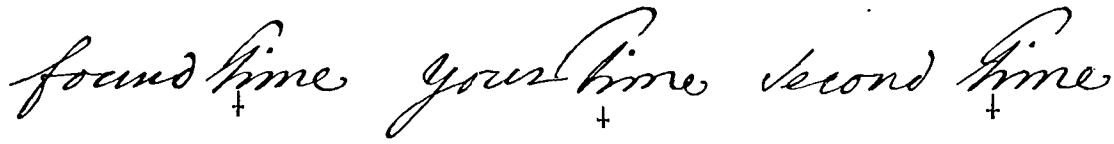
198.10

He has done so in eight out of the twenty-one instances wherein that word occurs in his Letters. He would, therefore, be liable to repeat that habit whilst

writing in a feigned hand. Accordingly I find, on the 2nd page of Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 6, line 11), that word written in the same remarkable manner, thus:—

Moreover, the general character of the writing of that word corresponds closely with the two instances taken from Francis's writing. The letter *i* thus formed is not to be distinguished from the letter *r* as written by Junius in the word "true," on the same page of his Letter, Plate 6, line 4; or from the letter *r* as written by Francis in the word "tormented," on the same line as the word "time," in his Letter, Plate 188, line 9.

II. But, further, Francis, having written the word "time," in the middle of a sentence, in the peculiar manner shown, had the habit of occasionally making an addition to the small letter *t*, which had the effect of converting it (improperly) into a capital letter, thus:—

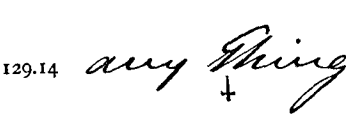


106.13 110.5 198.9

Both of those peculiarities occur in the word "time" written on the 1st page of Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 1, line 11), thus:—

The Letter from which that word is taken is dated only a month after the date of Francis's Letter from which the first of the two facsimiles of the word "time" is taken, and it occurs in the same phrase, viz. "in the mean time." The form of the addition made by Junius does not exactly correspond with that by Francis, because he was disguising his hand; but the habit or intention is the same, notwithstanding the difference of form. This disguise, however, like many others adopted by Junius, was not uniformly maintained. There is another instance in which no difference of form appears. Francis occasionally made this addition to the small letter *t* when he wrote the word "thing" in the middle of a sentence where no capital letter was needed, as in the following facsimiles:—

114.4 174.12

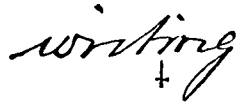
129.14  191.1

Junius has made a similar addition, and in like form, to the letter *t*, in the same word ("things"), also written in the middle of a sentence. See Junius to Woodfall, Plate 34, line 5, thus:—

It will be observed in each case that, if the addition be removed, the word will remain written with a small letter *t*, commenced with an upstroke in the usual manner, and that the entire word has been written by a single operation of the pen, sustained on the paper until the word has been completed.

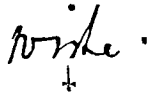
Those two peculiarities are by no means frequent in the Junian writings; their occurrence in Francis's hand suggests the source whence they are derived. They occur in other words in his writing at irregular intervals, insufficient to be regarded as habits of writing, but rather as inadvertences to which he was liable. Another instance of an inverted letter *i* occurs in the word "writing," in Francis's Letter, Plate 108, and again in the word "write," in his Letter, Plate 135, thus:—

135.7

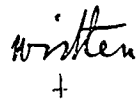


108.5

It also occurs in similar words in Junius to Woodfall, Plates 26 and 48, thus:—



26.6



48.1

See again Francis's disposition to invert that letter in the word "write," in Junius to Woodfall, Plate 37, line 2.

In the same way that Francis formed the letter *i* similarly to a letter *r*, so he formed (and far more frequently) the letter *r* like a letter *i*. The writing

of Junius is equally plentiful in these irregularities, as will be found demonstrated in the observations made on the letter *r* at page 18.

III. In Junius to Woodfall, Plate 34, line 2, the two letters *v* and *e* of the *second* syllable of the word "Cavendish" are omitted. The omission is signified by a character formed somewhat after the following model, thus: . This mark is the brand of Francis's hand, and, corroborated by other evidence, stamps that Letter as having emanated from him (see his Letter, Plate 164). The omission of the three letters *u*, *a*, and *r*, of the *second* syllable of the word "February" in the dating of that Letter is signified by a mark in perfect keeping with that employed by Junius, as in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

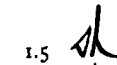
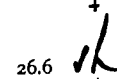
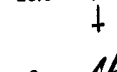
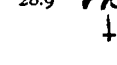
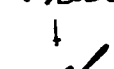
I do not remember having seen this mode of shortening a word in any other handwriting. It may have been common in the last century, but no instance has attracted my attention in a very large amount of different handwritings of that period which I have examined in the British Museum. It occurs once only in the Junian hand; but I find three other instances in the Letter Book on the backs of Letters by Francis besides that already given, sufficient to show that that mark of abbreviation was a peculiarity specially belonging to his hand.

The preceding are instances of specialities in regard to forms, in all three of which, in combination, few if any other writers can be found to participate with Junius and Francis. I find in their hands not only coincidences of special formations of letters but of special uses for which particular formations only of certain letters are employed; and, notwithstanding those formations are of a common character, the application of them to particular uses, to the exclusion of other common formations, gives them considerable importance. The most remarkable instances are those connected with particular formations of the letters *h* and *r*.

Two Formations of the Letter *h*, and the Circumstances under which One of them was Excluded from the Handwriting of both Junius and Francis.

IV. Junius and Francis each formed the letter *h* in two, if not three, distinct

manners: with a loop, thus: ; and without a loop, thus: . There is nothing remarkable in these formations of that letter; they may, doubtless, all be found in numerous handwritings. But, Francis had a special use for the straight form of the letter. He *invariably* employed it, to the entire exclusion of the looped form, when writing words commencing with *sh*, such as "shall," "should," &c. The word "shall" occurs in his writings thirty-seven times, the word "should" seventeen times, and other words beginning with *sh* thirty-one times. In no single instance has he written those words with a looped letter *h*, and yet the looped form abounds in other words of his writing. That inveterate habit adhered to him whilst writing the feigned hand of Junius, as shown in the annexed facsimiles.

JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.	
1.5		109.10	
26.6		113.6	
28.9		115.3	
29.13		172.8	

The writing of Junius is no less prolific of the looped form of the letter *h* than that of Francis. In Junius to Woodfall, Plate 44, it occurs twenty-five times in eleven lines of writing, and largely predominates over the straight form, but in the word "shall," which occurs three times in that Letter, the straight form remains intact, in strict conformity with Francis's invariable habit. But further, the word "shall" occurs no less than forty-eight times in the Junian writings, all written with a straight letter *h*, a single instance only excepted, viz. in Junius to Woodfall, Plate 28, line 5.

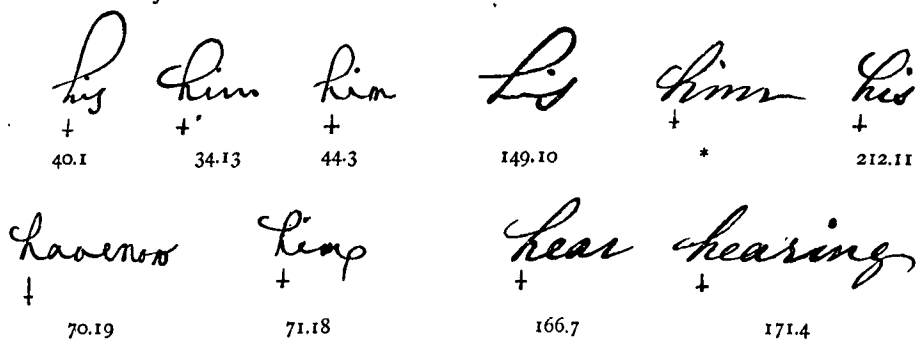
That instance is to be accounted for from the prevalence of extravagant loops to the letter *h* in other words in that Letter, showing that his mind was specially intent upon that form of disguise. Furthermore, in close conformity with this habit, Junius has written the word "should" fifty-seven times, but in two instances only with a looped letter, viz. on the first line of his second Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 3), and on the third line of his Letter to Woodfall, Plate 47.

In other words beginning with *sh*, Junius has digressed five times only out of thirty-one instances. It is, however, to be remarked with regard to the looped letter *h* in the word "shortly," which occurs in Junius to Woodfall, Plate 41, line 10, that the last three lines of that Letter evince unusual attention to the giving the letter *h* an extravagant loop All the letters *h* therein are disguised in that

manner, except those in the word "shall," which is twice written in those three lines in rigid conformity with the undeviating rule established in Francis's writing.

Many of the Junian Letters are as free from those extravagant loops as the writing of Francis. It is clear that the object of them was to disguise the hand, and divert the eye from other points. They were, however, like many other devices of Junius, not altogether excluded from the natural hand of Francis. A letter *h* having an enlarged loop appears in that hand at the very time the Junian Letters were being penned, as also others having the peculiarity of a curled upstroke, as in the following facsimiles :—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.



40.1 34.13 44.3 149.10 * 212.11

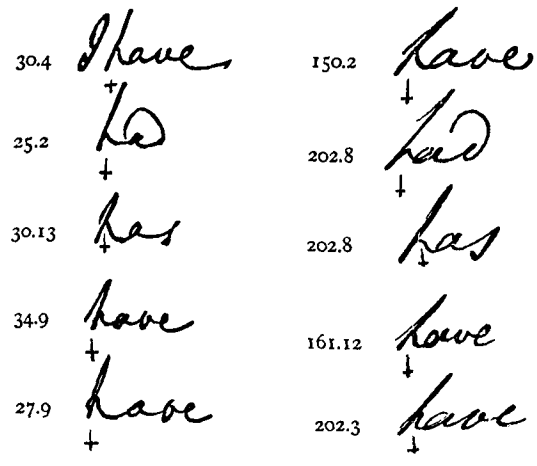
70.19 71.18 166.7 171.4

Junius employed the straight form in other words than those beginning with *sh;* and so did Francis, as in the annexed facsimiles.

But the looped form, free from any marked peculiarity, is by far the most prevalent in both hand-writings, as in the last two of those examples (next page).

These observations are inapplicable to the writing of those who, like De Lolme, never employ any other than the straight form of the letter. That fact alone would go far to exclude them from competitorship for the Junian hand. The point to be kept in view is the

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.



30.4 150.2
25.2 202.8
30.13 202.8
34.9 161.12
27.9 202.3

* Taken from Francis's Letter of 3. May. 1769.—the 1st page only of which has been photo-lithographed.

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

28.9 173.1

55.5 167.16

fact that Junius and Francis both constantly employed a looped letter *h* in other words than those to which attention has been directed. Another writer, viz. Lord George Sackville, appears to have invariably adopted the straight form of the letter, but there is this fact in connection with his writing words commencing with *sh*, viz. he has joined the two letters, in three instances out of six wherein such words occur, in his Letter of October 29, 1745 (see Sackville, Plates 223–225). This junction of the two letters is at direct variance from the habit of writing them both by Junius and Francis. Their habit was to disconnect them.

On the other hand, Lady Temple habitually wrote the letter *h* with a clearly defined loop; and when it is found in her Letter, Plate 215, that a looped letter occurs in words beginning with *sh* no less than ten times on a single page, the observations that I have made in respect of the employment or non-employment of a looped letter under those circumstances, however trivial they may appear, are extremely applicable, as against identifying her handwriting with that of Junius. The value of them as applied to identify Francis's hand with that of Junius, I leave to others to determine. I would merely remark that there seems to be absolutely no assignable *reason* why Francis should have habitually formed the letter *h* with a loop in other situations, but should not have formed it with a loop after the letter *s* in words beginning with *sh*. His habit in this respect must be regarded simply as an idiosyncracy; and if this is so, it is difficult to conceive that the existence of the very same idiosyncracy in Junius should have been nothing more than an accidental coincidence.

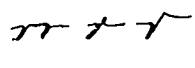
Coincidences in Numerous and Diversified Formations of the Letter *r*, and in the Circumstances under which Particular Formations only were Employed by both Junius and Francis.

V. The most striking exemplification of Francis's love of variety in the formation of letters, and of his habit of adapting particular forms of them to special uses, will be found in respect of the letter *r*. He formed that letter in two distinct manners, and each has several varieties. Some have the little

member or shoulder which distinguishes the letter from a letter *i* to the right side, and others to the left side, giving at least twelve or fourteen different formations of that letter. Several of these are very remarkable and characteristic. All are reproduced in identical similarity in the Junian hand, as will be seen upon reference to Plates A, B, C, D, and E. They may be distinguished as formed thus:—

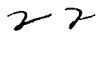
Example No. 1, Plate A.

The shoulder of the letter *well marked* to the *right* side, thus:—.



Example No. 2, Plate A.

An *undefined* shoulder, taken from the bottom of the letter to the *right* side, thus:—



Example No. 3, Plate B.

An *arched* shoulder to the *right* side, taken from the bottom of a final letter, thus:—

Example No. 4, Plate B.

An *undefined* shoulder to the *left* side of a final letter, thus:—

Example No. 5, Plate C.

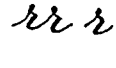
A *tall* letter, the shoulder intended to be to the *left* side, thus:—

Example No. 6, Plate C.

An *undefined* shoulder to the *left* side of a final letter, terminating with a curled up-stroke, thus:—

Example No. 7, Plate D.

A *well-defined* shoulder to the *left* side of the letter, thus:—



Example No. 8, Plate D.

The shoulder of the letter *largely developed* to the *left* side, giving great prominence to the letter, thus:—

Example No. 9, Plate E.

An extremely characteristic formation, the shoulder to the *left* side of the letter, thus:—

Example No. 10, Plate E.

A *looped* shoulder to the *left* side of the letter, similar in formation to that in Example 8, thus:—

Example No. 11, Plate E.

A distinct shoulder to the *left* side of the letter, similar in formation to that in Example 8, thus:—

Example No. 12, Plate E.

No shoulder to either side of the letter; the *upper* part of the letter *angular*, the *lower* part *round*, in resemblance to a letter *i*, thus:—

Example No. 13.

No shoulder to either side of the letter; the *upper* and *lower* turns of the letter *both angular*, thus:—

It is a remarkable fact that all these different formations of the letter *r*, like those of other letters, are formed as nearly as possible in the same proportions in the feigned hand of Junius as in the natural hand of Francis. Thus the 1st, 2nd, 7th, and 12th, are of common occurrence in both hands. The 5th and 8th are conspicuous at the beginnings of words; the 3rd is continually used as a terminal letter, and the 4th and 6th less frequently. With regard to the 9th, it will be difficult to find in either hand more than two or three instances besides those given in Plate E. The 10th and 11th are still more rarely to be met with at the beginning of a word; and with regard to the 13th, although more frequent in Francis's natural hand than in the feigned hand of Junius, it never occurs at the beginning of a word in either hand.

In addition to the agreement between Junius and Francis in the formation of so many varieties of the letter *r*, there is a remarkable agreement between them as to the circumstances under which, in different syllables, they make use of different formations. This is a distinct point from the mere formation of the letters. It is conceivable that two different persons might each form the letter *r* in a variety of ways, and both agree in every variety, and yet not apply each variety under the same circumstances; or, on the other hand, they might both make use of the letter *r* with its shoulder to the right, or with its shoulder to the left, under the same circumstances, without forming the letter otherwise in the same manner. But in both these points there is a very exact and striking agreement between Junius and Francis. Thus, where double *r* follows the vowel *o*, as in the words "correctly," "to-morrow," "sorrow," &c., they both, without a single exception, made the double *r* with shoulders to the *right*, as exhibited in Plate F. Fifty such words occur in Junius, and thirteen in Francis. But where double *r* follows either of the vowels *a*, *e*, or *u*, then both Junius and Francis employed a totally different formation of the letter, viz. that shown in Example No. 7, having its shoulder well defined to the *left* side.

Of fifteen words which occur in Junius and thirty in Francis wherein double *r* follows the vowel *a*, with a single exception in each (and that in the same word, viz. "Barrington"), both have written the double *r* with shoulders to the *left*. Both, however, have written that word in the established manner, as shown in Plate F. That word occurs twice in Francis, and five times in Junius.

Eleven words occur in Junius and six in Francis wherein double *r* follows the vowel *e*. In all of these, without a single exception, double *r* is written with shoulders to the *left* (see examples in Plate F).

Seven words occur in Francis wherein double *r* follows the vowel *u*. In two instances he has formed the shoulders of the double *r* to the right, instead of his more usual practice to the left, as shown in Plate F. Six such words occur in Junius, and in every instance he has formed the letter *r* with its shoulder to the *left*.

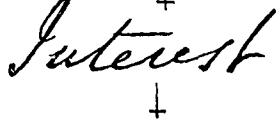
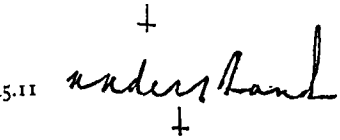
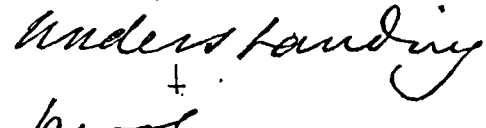
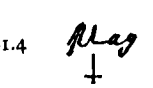
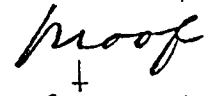
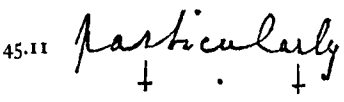
In syllables wherein *single r* follows either of the vowels *o*, *a*, *e*, or *u*, in the words "more," "are," "were," "assured," &c., the same practice was followed both by Junius and Francis as in the case of double *r*, when it follows either of those vowels, with this important difference, viz. in each case the shoulder of the letter is more negligently formed, descending to the form No. 2, Plate A.

The word "are" occurs sixty-nine times in Junius and eighty-nine times in

Francis. With one exception in Francis, the *r* in this word is invariably written by both with its shoulder mostly ill-defined to the *left*. The shoulder is so imperfectly formed in many instances that the letter descends to the form of a letter *i* (see the last five examples of the word "are" in Plate G). The first ten of those examples are in order, being the first that occur in the two series of Letters; the five following them are taken indiscriminately. Of the sixty-nine instances of that word which occur in Junius's works, six only have a distinctly formed shoulder; and of the eighty-nine words by Francis, four only have a well-defined shoulder.

A similar formation occurs in the word "were." That word occurs nineteen times in Junius and twenty-five times in Francis. In every instance both writers have formed the letter *r* with its shoulder to the *left*, as exhibited in Plate G. Francis on one occasion only formed the shoulder of the *r* in that word distinctly, and Junius thrice only.

The subjoined facsimiles exhibit instances of other words wherein the letter *r* is distinctly formed like a letter *i*:—

JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.	
83.7		125.9	
66.5		202.11	
86.5		202.13	
45.11		147.7	
81.4		185.5	
45.11		176.18	

In Junius there are 183 words *beginning* with *re*, as in "reason," "ready," "rely," &c. In all these words, with six exceptions, the *r* is written with its shoulder to the *left*. In Francis there are 132 such words, and in all, with four exceptions only, the *r* is written in the same way. In this case attention should

be specially directed, not only to the practice, but to the proportion of the exceptions to the practice.

A formation of the letter *r*, like to that after the vowels *a* and *e*, in the words "are" and "were," occurs after the vowel *u* in the verb "assure," wherever that verb is written either by Junius or Francis. Junius's attention appears to have been wholly occupied on excluding the long *s*, invariably employed by Francis when writing that word. Junius, however, on three occasions neglected his usual attention to that particular, as is hereinafter shown (page 65).

Junius and Francis also both gave a preference to *r* with its shoulder to the *left* when it follows the vowel *i*. There is, however, a remarkable exception to this habit, and which was observed by both of them, viz. in the word "Sir." That word occurs eleven times in Francis's writing. He has in every instance except one, which occurred in 1785, written the *r* with its shoulder to the *right*. Junius has used that word thirty-seven times, and, consistently with Francis, he has in every instance, with one exception only, written the *r* with its shoulder to the *right*. In all the preceding instances of *r* following either of the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, or *u*, it has been shown that the shoulder of that letter has been formed to the *left* of the letter, except in the particular exception of the word "Sir," with great and almost equal uniformity both by Junius and Francis. But when *r* follows the vowel *o* then both of them gave a preference to *r* with its shoulder to the *right*.

The negligent manner in which the shoulder of the letter *r* is formed in the word "more" gives that word a very distinctive character (see Plate G). In that plate facsimiles are given of all the words "more" which occur in Junius, and three only are omitted, from want of space, of those which occur in Francis's writings, viz. in Plate 207, line 10; Plate 210, line 10; and Plate 212, line 14. No others are intentionally omitted. On reference to Plate G, it will be found that Francis has in five instances only formed the shoulder of the *r* (in the word "more") to the left, and that Junius has in no single instance departed from Francis's more prevailing habit of forming it to the right. On the other hand, Francis has in a single instance only made the *r*, in that word, with a well-defined shoulder to the left, and Junius has in four instances departed from the habitually negligent formation of Francis. The upright style, and the restraint involved in the writing of the Junian hand, sufficiently accounts for this slight discrepancy.

Now, Lady Temple's and Lord George Sackville's Letters present the word "more" which may bear a comparison with that word as found in the Junian hand. And if the comparison rested only on that word, the ground might fairly

be disputed; but when we seek in their writing comparisons with the words "are" and "were"—wherein the letter *r* is formed with its shoulder to the *left*, as shown in Plate G—the treacherous ground on which their claims rest crumbles away. Both of those writers formed the letter *r* with its shoulder to the *right* side *only*. It is vain, therefore, to seek in their writing words for comparison with the Junian hand wherein that letter is made with its shoulder to the *left*, in the very emphatic manner as those exhibited in Plates C, D, and E.

It may be urged that those and other competitors for the Junian hand who formed the letter *r* with its shoulder to the right side only, or to the left side only, as the case may be, varied therefrom, whilst writing the Junian hand, for the purpose of disguise. To this I reply, How came they to stumble on so many formations of that letter identical with those found in the hand of Francis? Still further, how came they to write them in like proportions, and apply certain of them to the same uses that Francis did? Here I must not omit to observe that of the seventy words exhibited for comparison in 'Coventry on Junius,' the nine selected from Junius having a letter *r*, all have that letter formed with its shoulder to the right side, consistent with Lord George Sackville's invariable practice.

It was the practice of both Junius and Francis to make use of *r* with a shoulder to the *right* in the word "write" in its various forms and derivations. This is the case with Junius, without a single exception, in twenty-six instances; and Francis has made two exceptions only in forty-one instances. In one of these he was writing very rapidly (see Plate 178, line 5), and on the other he had accidentally omitted the *r* altogether, and then inserted it in the line with a shoulder to the left (see Plate 128, line 12). Again, it was the habit of both to write *r* with its shoulder to the *right* when it followed a letter *f*, of any ordinary formation, as in "from," "friend," "afraid," &c. Junius departed from this habit twice only in seventy-one instances, and Francis twice only in seventy-six instances. In the word "from," neither of them made a single departure from their general practice, although there are thirty-nine instances of that word in Junius and fifty-two instances in Francis.

A like harmony exists between Junius and Francis in respect of the application of every form of the letter *r* found in their writings. This will become apparent, to some extent, upon reference to the comparative facsimiles given in Plates A to E.

Five different conditions have been shown under which both Junius and Francis habitually formed the letter *r* with its shoulder to the *left*, and *four* under which they formed it with its shoulder to the *right*. Each gave a preference to *r*

with its shoulder to the *left* in all cases where it follows either of the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, or *u*, with a strongly marked preference after the vowel *a*. There are 487 exceptions to this general rule in 1646 instances in Junius, and 483 exceptions in 1790 instances in Francis. Of those exceptions, 250 in Junius, and 225 in Francis, occur in the final letters of words. The converse of the preceding rule took place in respect of the vowel *o*, for, notwithstanding the ready command alike by Junius and by Francis of a letter *r* having its shoulder to the left, it was a rooted habit with both, in *all* syllables in which the letter *r* follows the vowel *o*, to form the *r* after one model only (Example No. 1, Plate A)—with its shoulder to the *right*. Francis has made eight departures only from this practice in 460 instances, and Junius six only in 465 instances.

A very fair question naturally arises whether there is not some natural law, tendency, or bias, leading persons who form the letter *r* in two distinct manners, in respect to the position of its shoulder, to adapt each to certain distinct uses. Possibly there may be; but such supposition is not warranted by facts. I have examined numerous letters of different persons, in order to test that supposition. Its fallacy with respect to the adoption of a letter *r* with its shoulder to the right in preference to a shoulder to the left when it follows the vowel *o* will become sufficiently apparent upon reference to the fifty photo-lithographed pages in this volume, some of which were handwritten by persons who formed the letter *r* with its shoulder to the right and also to the left side of the letter, viz. those exhibiting specimens of the handwriting of Lord Temple (Plate 219), of Mr. D'Oyly (Plate 229), of Lord Barrington (Plates 230 and 231), of Mr. George Ross (Plate 232), of Mr. Edmund Burke (Plate 233), of Thomas, second Lord Lyttelton (Plates 255–258B), and of Mr. De Lolme (Plates 264 and 265). In those thirteen pages alone there will be found not less than fourteen clear instances of the letter *r* with its shoulder to the left after the vowel *o*—a number merely equalling that to be found in all the pages of Junius and Francis together. Ross has formed the letter *r* with a well defined shoulder to the left in the two and only instances, which occur in his Letter, wherein *r* follows the vowel *o* (see the words "before" and "morning," Plate 232, lines 4 and 6); and taking those specimens separately, whilst that of De Lolme upholds the above proposition, those of Charles Ross and Lord Lyttelton completely destroy it. Hence the supposition of any natural tendency to write *r* with its shoulder to the *right* when it follows the vowel *o* must be discarded. The habitual employment of a letter *r* so formed in

that position, to the exclusion of a letter with its shoulder to the *left*, in a particular handwriting, must therefore be attributed to a peculiarity of the individual writer. The question then arises whether this peculiarity existed accidentally in two different individuals. If this question is answered in the affirmative, the further question will immediately arise whether these two individuals accidentally agreed in forming the letter *r* with its shoulder to the *right* after the common formation of the letter *f* in the words "from," "friend," &c.; also after the letter *w* in the word "write" and its derivatives; also in forming the initial letter *r* with its shoulder to the *left* before the vowel *e* in such words as "reason," "ready," "rely," &c., with a definite proportion of exceptions. Again, if it is asserted that all this was accidental, was it likewise accidental that, although these two individuals formed the single and double *r* with shoulders to the *right* after the *vowel* "*o*," they formed it with shoulders to the *left* after the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, and *u*, making it an exception when in the word "Sir"? And if all this is asserted to have been accidental, and not the result of habit, the question then remains whether it is likewise accidental that these very same individuals agreed in the formation of twelve or thirteen variations of the letter *r*, many of them of very marked and distinctive formation.

Questions still more embarrassing arise in the case of a competitor for the Junian hand who never formed the letter *r* otherwise than with its shoulder to the *right*, as was the case with Lady Temple, Lord G. Sackville, Hugh Boyd, Gerard Hamilton, Mrs. Dayrolle, Charles Lee, and Charles Lloyd. Could it have been either from accident or design that such a person in no instance repeated that habit when writing the words "are," "were," and "assured," in a feigned hand, whilst in the same hand numerous instances occur in other words of that letter formed after the accustomed habit of such competitor, viz. with its shoulder to the *right?* All these questions are submitted for the consideration of those who are dispassioned and unprejudiced in the present enquiry. When they are considered in connection with others which may be similarly put in respect of the remarkable agreement between Junius and Francis as to the circumstances under which they both excluded the looped form of the letter *h*, and the curled form of the letter *d*, from their writings, as already set forth, they present to my mind a large induction of circumstantial evidence, as strong as it is possible to obtain from comparisons alone, from which no other inference can be drawn than that the two handwritings under examination have emanated from one and the same person only.

COMPARISONS OF VARIOUS FORMATIONS OF DOUBLE *f* AND SINGLE *f* IN JUNIUS AND FRANCIS.

VI. Francis was scarcely less versatile in his formations of the letter *f* than he was in those of the letter *r*. His handwriting is distinguished by three different formations of double *f*, and by no less than seven different formations of single *f*, each of which may be separately described thus:—

Example No. 1, Plate H.

Double *f*: the two letters standing distinctly from each other, but joined together, thus:—

Example No. 2, Plate H.

Double *f*: both letters crossed with a large loop, taken up from the bottom of the second letter, thus:—

Example No. 3, Plate H.

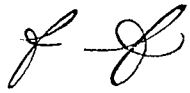
Double *f*: no up-stroke taken from the bottom of the second letter, and crossed by a straight line, thus:—

Example No. 4, Plate H.

Single *f*: looped below the line only, and crossed with a loop, thus:—

Example No. 5, Plate H.

Looped both above and below the line of writing, and crossed with a loop, thus:—



Example No. 6, Plate I.

Looped below the line of writing only, the final up-stroke crossing the letter once only, and carried through the preceding letter, thus:—

Example No. 7, Plate I.

Looped at the bottom only, the final up-stroke finishing in the down-stroke, thus:—

Example No. 8, Plate I.

Looped above and below the line of writing, the final up-stroke carried through the letter, and tending upwards, thus:—

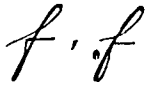
Example No. 9, Plate I.

A similar formation, with the final up-stroke tending downwards, thus:—

Example No. 10, Plate I.

Looped above and below the line of writing, the final up-stroke crossing the letter twice, and joined to the next letter, thus:—

The feigned hand of Junius rivals the natural hand of Francis in every one of those formations of the letter *f*, though, perhaps, not with the same uniformity as in those of the letter *r*; and for these reasons—the hand of Junius discloses no attempt to disguise the latter, but a marked attention to the disguise of the former. Francis has endeavoured to exclude from his feigned hand certain striking formations which characterise his writing, particularly that of double *f*, of which he could hardly have failed to be cognisant, as it was presented to his notice every time he dated from the "War Office." It is not surprising, therefore, that a different and an unattractive formation, deficient of any marked peculiarity, took its place in his feigned hand. Nevertheless, two distinct instances of Francis's characteristic double *f* occur in the Junian hand, to which attention will presently be directed. So also the unassuming double *f*, and the more pretentious single *f*, of the Junian hand gradually found a place in the natural hand of Francis, but not before they had been practised for many months in the Junian hand. The date of their first introduction can be exactly ascertained.

Sir Philip Francis, when writing double *f* (*ff*), habitually crossed those letters in a very conspicuous manner, viz. with a large loop amounting to a flourish, by an upstroke taken from the bottom of the second letter, crossing both letters, thus: as in the annexed facsimiles, taken from two of his Letters written in 1767. This formation of double *f* is *invariable* in all his five Letters written in that year. In no instance in those Letters has he crossed a letter *f*, when written *singly*, in a similar manner, viz. with a large loop, thus: or even with a small loop, thus: . His habit was to cross it without a loop, thus:  . When particularly intent upon disguising this letter whilst writing the Junian hand, he reversed his usual habits. He avoided crossing the double *f* with a loop, by forming it thus: , as in the following examples:—

109.1

115.3

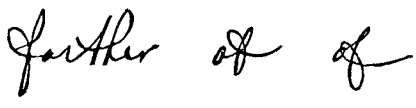
114.4

9.9

43.7

and he crossed the letter *f*, when written singly, with a loop, often extravagantly large, thus: . But upon examination, it will be found that the letter so formed takes its origin from the natural hand of Francis, and closely resembles the second *f* of the double *f*, as habitually written by him in that hand, as shown in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.



57.2 45.5 28.5

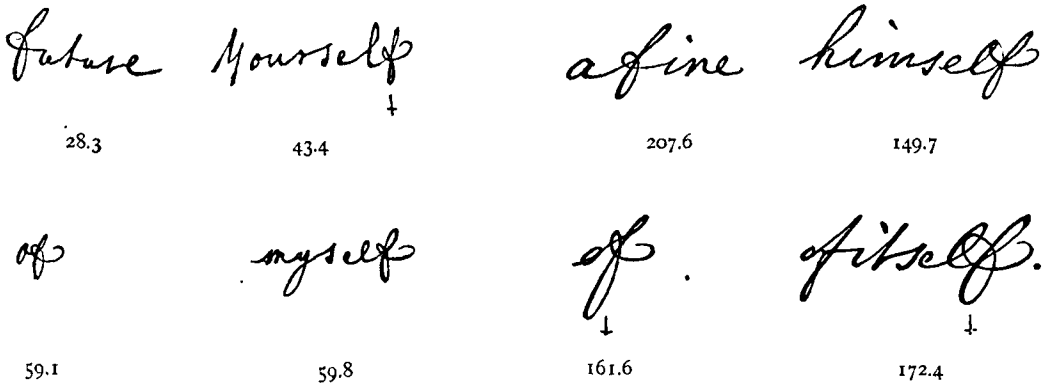
FRANCIS.

114.13 114.4 106.15

Francis, however, could not be continually practising a feigned hand without being in danger of importing some of its disguises into his natural hand. No semblance of the Junian formation of a letter *f* written singly appears in Francis's hand until the year 1768. In his Letter of 9th January of that year, a letter *f*, written singly, appears crossed with a loop, somewhat diminutive, for the first time, in the word "of," in the 8th line of that Letter (Plate 123), thus: .

In his Letters written after that date, this formation of single *f* continually reappears, the letters being crossed with a loop gradually expanding, until it reaches, as in his Letter of 13th January, 1770 (Plate 149, line 7), the proportions of the Junian disguised single *f*, as shown in the subjoined facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.



28.3 43.4 207.6 149.7

59.1 59.8 161.6 172.4

Subsequently to the latter date, this distinctive formation of single *f* occurs in Francis's Letters almost as frequently as in the Junian hand, but in both hands at uncertain intervals (see Examples No. 5, in Plate H). In like manner, but not until the year 1769, Francis imported the Junian double *f* (*ff*) into his natural hand. In his Letter of 7th June, 1769 (Plates 138 and 139), after writing double *f* in his accustomed manner in the word "Office," in the dating of his Letter, thus: , he has for the first time abandoned that formation, and twice written double *f* in the same manner to which he was accustomed when practising the Junian hand, as shown in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

10.5 18.2 138.2 139.18

As with the disguised single *f*, so with the disguised double *f*, after its introduction into Francis's natural hand, it was frequently repeated in close resemblance to the Junian formation, as in the subjoined examples:—

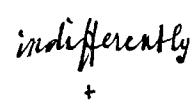
JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

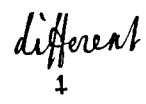
* 11.20 163.1 138.2

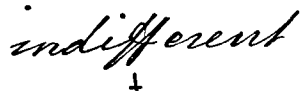
This formation of double *f* occurs subsequently to the 7th June, 1769, at least ten times in Francis' Letters, but on two occasions only when dating from the "War Office." See the following additional instances:—"affairs," Francis, Plate 160, line 5; "suffering," Plate 164, line 1; "affairs," Plate 167, line 10; "offence," Plate 169, line 1; "sufficient," Plate 173, line 1 (Letter dated from the "War Office"); "suffered," Plate 200, line 3; "Affairs," Plate 203, line 7; "offered," and "Sheriffs," Plate 206, lines 1 and 9. Another instance occurs in the word "Office," on the 2nd page of his Letter of 11th December, 1770, the 1st page only of which has been photo-lithographed.

In like manner, Francis's habitual formation of double *f* is introduced in the Junian hand, and those letters are then crossed with a large loop, as already described. See the double *f* in the following instances:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

8.5 

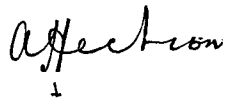
8.4 

209.7 

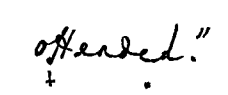
141.12

* Taken from Junius's "Dedication" in the British Museum, page 2, line 19.

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

42.1 

211.6

36.6 

109.1

The point of these comparisons is the tying of both letters together by means of a large loop taken from the bottom of the second letter of the double *f*.

In all the preceding instances of double *f*, with the exception of the last two from Junius, again referred to in page 30, there is one general principle of carrying an up-stroke from the bottom of *both* letters. In some both the letters are looped at the bottom; in others, one letter only. In some the two letters stand distinctly from each other; in others they are coupled together by a large loop embracing both letters (see Examples Nos. 1 and 2, Plate H).

Junius on three occasions only differed essentially from the two modes of forming double *f*, already pointed out. In these he has lifted the pen at the bottom of the second *f*, and carried no up-stroke therefrom, and a mere line is made to serve as a crossing for both letters. Francis also has on three occasions digressed from his usual habit, by forming double *f* in a manner very similar, as shown in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

27.13

211.8

27.4

185.2

28.10

128.12

Thus three distinct manners of forming double *f* (see Plate H, Examples 1, 2, and 3) are found in close similitude in the two hands, but not in the same proportions as the several varieties of the letter *r*. The form No. 1, Plate H, was

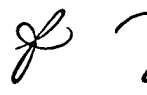
evidently intended to take the place of the habitual formation of Francis, No. 2, Plate H. It does so in every document written by Junius, with very rare exceptions. Francis, however, was far less successful in keeping the Junian double *f* from his natural hand, as already demonstrated. The form No. 3, which belongs to neither hand, except as an inadvertency, is found equally in both.

In the Junian hand many instances occur at fitful intervals of a very conspicuous formation of the single letter *f*, as in the following words, viz.: "Yourself," in Junius to Woodfall, Plate 63, line 9; "himself" and "yourself," Plate 66, lines 5 and 19; "of" and "myself," Plate 68, lines 8 and 9; "yourself," "myself," "mischief," and "himself," Plate 70, lines 8, 11, 13, and 15; "of" and "before," Plate 71, lines 5 and 16. Other Letters of Junius are altogether free from this distinctive formation of that letter. Its erratic appearance in the Junian hand points it out as a form of disguise. It evidently does not belong to the natural hand of Francis, and so far answers its purpose, but this, like other disguises in the Junian hand, Francis did not succeed in excluding altogether from his natural hand. It occurs, however, but once only in his writing, viz. in the word "If," on the 4th line of his Letter No. 26 (Plate 177), and is identical with two instances in the Junian hand, as in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

70.8 78.1 177.4

That which occurs in Junius to Woodfall, Plate 70, line 8, was written six days only after Francis's Letter No. 26. No other instance occurs in the specimens of the Junian hand in this volume wherein this formation of the letter *f* follows a capital letter *I*.

Two uncommon modes of forming single *f*, thus:  , by Junius, have now been traced into the writing of Francis. The first of these, having an extravagant loop in the middle of the letter, appears at uncertain intervals in both hands, but there is no instance in Francis's hand of a letter crossed with a loop, as shown in Examples 4 and 5, Plate H, until the Junian hand had been for several months in practice, as has already been demonstrated. The second form,

Example 6, Plate I, although it occurs once only in Francis's hand, is merely an exaggeration arising out of a common form equally frequent in both handwritings (see Example No. 7, Plate I). This again becomes modified, as shown in Example No. 8, Plate I. Both of those formations, as also others in Examples Nos. 9 and 10, are all prevailing in both handwritings (see Junius's Essay, Plates 7–12, and compare with any of the pages of Francis's writing).

There is, in the Junian hand, another formation of the letter *f* which evaded the natural hand of Francis as successfully as the preceding. It is the printer's italic letter, thus: *f*. The first letters *f* in the words "affection," "offended," and "sufficient," in the preceding examples of double *f* taken from Junius, partake of that formation, inasmuch as their tails are turned to the left without forming loops. No other instances occur in double *f*, but I have observed forty instances of single *f* written in the italic manner. They are, however, confined to only four different words—a large majority to the word "of." Seven instances occur in the words "Woodfall," in the following pages of Junius's Letters addressed to him, viz. Plates 28, 38, 41, 44, 52, 53, and 86. One instance occurs in the word "yourself," Plate 40, line 16; and one only in the word "if," Plate 72, line 17. The remaining thirty-one are all in the same word, "of." Other formations of the letter *f* were so much more convenient to the hand of Junius that only five pages of his writing exhibit more than a solitary instance of the italic formation of that letter, viz.: his second Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 3), which contains four instances; his second Letter to Lord Chatham (Plate 14); his Preface, Plate 20; his Letter to Woodfall, Plate 27; and the Proof Sheet, Plate 100, each of which contains two instances only. All these instances are in the same word, "of." The following pages have each a single instance only, viz. Plates 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 21, 22, 28, 35, 44, 54, 61, 66, 68, 75, 81, 86, 88, 99. All these instances are again in the same word, "of." It is clear, therefore, that the writing the word "of" occasionally gave an impulse to the mind of Junius, which influenced him for the moment in the formation of the letter *f* in that word.

One of these impulses overtook Francis when he wrote the letter *f* so distinctly in the italic form in the word "of," on the 2nd page of his Letter dated 5th Oct.r 1768.[1] The letter *f* in that word, on the 17th line of his Letter, is an enlarged representation of the letter *f* in the word "of," on the

[1] The 1st page only of this Letter has been photo-lithographed.

17th line of Junius's second Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 3), dated little more than a month before Francis's Letter. See the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

In like manner, upon an inspection of the Proof Sheets in the British Museum, I find that Junius reproduced a very distinctive formation of the letter *f*, which Francis also specially devoted to the writing of the word "of," as in the following instances:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

Proof Sheets, vol. ii. page 7.

151.3

Thus, four distinct formations of single *f*, in strong contrast to each other, thus: , occur in both Junius and Francis.

Two questions arise alternatively from the preceding observations in respect of the letter *f*. Was it an accidental circumstance that Francis, not being identical with Junius, introduced into his handwriting certain distinct formations of double and single *f* which never occurred in that hand until they had been many times written in the Junian hand; and also that Junius introduced into his hand two distinct formations of double *f*, and many others of single *f*, peculiar to Francis's hand; or were those interchanges the natural consequences of one and the same person practising simultaneously two different hands?

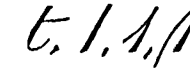
If Junius had used no other than the italic form of the letter *f*, he would have effected an efficient disguise of his natural hand so far as regards that letter.

The adoption of the orthodox formation of the letter *f* would not have contributed much to discover him if he had confined himself to that formation, since it may be considered the common property of all ordinary writers. It is the introduction into his feigned hand of so many other and peculiar formations that discover his natural hand.

The practice of crossing double *f* (*ff*) with a loop embracing both letters, upon which so much stress has been laid, was not uncommon in the last century. Lord Lyttelton, and Francis's friend Richard Tilghman, both crossed double *f*

like Francis, in that manner; but their writing is to be distinguished from his by their habit of crossing double *t* (*tt*) in a similar manner, thus: . Burke, and Mrs. Dayrolle, the amanuensis of Lord Chesterfield, also crossed those letters in the same way. Yet, notwithstanding Francis's habit of crossing double *f* in that manner, there is no instance in his handwriting of double *t* crossed in the same way, and there is no instance in Junius. This may be attributed to its resemblance to the capital letter *H*, as sometimes formed by them (see the words "Houses" and "House," Plate V). I now pass on to the letter *t*.

THE STRAIGHT FORM, AND THE ROUNDED OR TEXT FORM, OF THE LETTER *t*, AND THE ADOPTION BY JUNIUS AND BY FRANCIS OF THE SAME FORM UNDER THE SAME CIRCUMSTANCES.

VII. In Junius there are at least four forms of the small *t*, thus:  . All these occur in Francis. They will be likewise found combined in numerous other writers, but as they will not be found in all—for example, not in Lady Temple—this is a circumstance which it is proper to notice.

The form of their double *t* (*tt*) is a point of greater importance, because, although it is more common than any one single other form, there is considerable variety in the forms used by different writers, and the form used by Junius and by Francis is distinct from the form used by four of the competitors for the Junian handwriting, viz. by Lord George Sackville, by Edmund Burke, by Lord Chesterfield's amanuensis, Mrs. Dayrolle, and by Lord Lyttelton.

The following facts, however, are of still greater importance.

Both Junius and Francis gave a marked preference to the use of the straight form of the letter *t* over the text form, finished with a round turn, as in the first of the preceding examples. This preference, however, is more marked in Junius than in Francis, possibly being more suited to his upright style of writing. Now, it is a remarkable fact, to which I would call particular attention, that, when the letter *t* is followed either by another *t* or by the letter *r*, the preference for the straight form no longer exists, but the preference is reversed. Thus, when *t* is followed by another *t*, as in the word "Letter," Francis uses a rounded letter *t* in 159 instances out of 160; and notwithstanding the adverse tendency of an upright hand, Junius uses a rounded *t* a hundred times in 107 instances; and when *t* is followed by a letter *r*, Francis uses a rounded *t* 68 times in 80 instances,

and Junius 103 times in 120 instances, the proportions in the latter case being as nearly equal as possible. It is carefully to be observed that the interesting point here is not simply that both Junius and Francis use a rounded letter *t* before another *t*, and before the letter *r*, but that, before these two specific letters, they give such a decided preference to the rounded form, while in other cases they give a preference to the straight form. They not only agree in one particular habit, but they likewise agree in the variations from that habit.

The mode of crossing the letter *t* is often a distinctive feature in handwriting. As an instance, in the five words in Boyd's Letter (Plates 234 and 235) where two letters *t* occur separated from each other, he has, in every instance, conspicuously crossed both letters by one operation of the pen, thus:
235.4
; but in the two words "little," wherein two letters *t* follow each other, he has crossed those letters with an independent line. So also, in the twenty-three instances wherein the letter *t* commences a word, he has in every instance crossed the letter, and crossed it with an *independent* line.

Junius constantly omitted to cross the letter *t* at the beginning of a word, and when he crossed it, that letter was mostly followed by a letter *h*, and he made the cross of the *t* form part of the letter *h*, or otherwise connected the two letters (see the words "the" and "than," Plate 28, line 1, and the words "think" and "this," Plate 47, line 7). These are extravagancies, no doubt intended for disguises.

The prevailing habits of Junius in respect of the crossing of the letter *t* agree with those of Francis. Both occasionally omitted to cross the single letter *t*, but they rarely omitted to cross double *t*.

The Letter *d* in the Curled Form, its Various Formations, and the Occasions on which it was Avoided by both Junius and Francis.

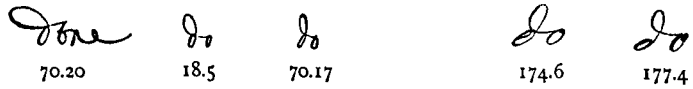
VIII. Junius and Francis, in common with many other writers, frequently used the curled form of the letter *d*, thus: , at the end of a word, less frequently in the middle, but very rarely at the beginning of a word. Lord George Sackville has employed it far more frequently than the common formation, and invariably at the ends of words in his two Letters, Plates 223 and 227; and Lady Temple, in her three Letters, Plates 215, 216, and 222, has used no other formation, and in *every instance* where that letter commences a word, she has *disjoined* it from the next letter following it.

That the practice of Junius and of Francis was in strict conformity, not only in regard to the occasions on which *d* in the curled form was used in their handwritings, but also in respect of its varied formations, will become apparent upon a consideration of the following observations.

Unlike the habitual employment of that form of the letter at the beginning of words by several competitors for the Junian hand,[1] there is a single instance only of a letter *d* formed in like manner at the beginning of a word, and *detached* from the next letter following it in all the specimens of the Junian writing in this volume;[2] and a single instance only in that of Francis; viz. by Junius in the word "difficulty," Plate 63, line 13, and by Francis in the word "dangling," Plate 108, line 3, as in the following facsimiles:—

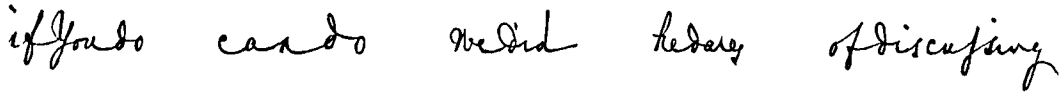
Three instances occur in Junius's writing where the letter is *joined* to the next letter following it; and two instances only in Francis's writing, thus:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.



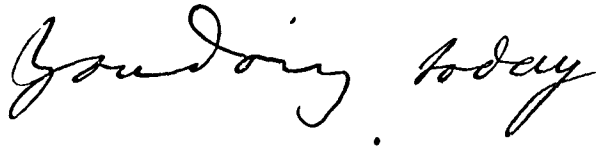
70.20 18.5 70.17 174.6 177.4

There are five other instances in Junius's writing, thus:—



73.4 70.13 22.10 22.3 69.9

It should be observed that in all these the letter *d* is joined to the last letter of the preceding word, as well as to the next letter following it, and is therefore analogous to a letter *d* in the middle of a word. Two similar instances occur in Francis's writing, thus:

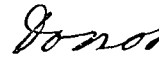


187.3 *

[1] See page 192. [2] See page 148.

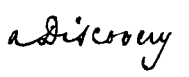
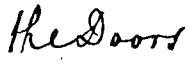
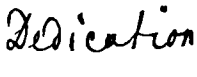
* Taken from his Letter dated 9. July. 1768. of which the 1st page only has been photo-lithographed.

These are all the instances in both handwritings of words commencing with that formation of the letter *d* at the commencement of a word, except a doubtful instance in each; viz. in the word "do," in Junius, Plate 43, line 2, thus:

and in "do not," in Francis, Plate 181, line 9, thus:  .

This questionable form of the letter *d* occurs in Junius in the word "Camden," Plate 69, line 7, and in Francis, in the word "old," Plate 154, line 5, thus:—

In these four instances, the letter commences with a straight down-stroke, and partakes of the nature of a capital letter, which was frequently used alike by Junius and Francis in place of a small letter, as shown in the following facsimiles:—

	JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.
30.2		147.9	
64.9		168.4	
54.3		168.9	
63.11		145.2	

The similarity of the forms of the capital letters in these examples should be observed.

It is somewhat remarkable that of the instances in which the curled form of the letter *d* occurs at the beginnings of words, four words out of six in Francis's writing, and six out of nine in that of Junius, belong to the verb "do,"[1] the proportion in each being exactly the same.

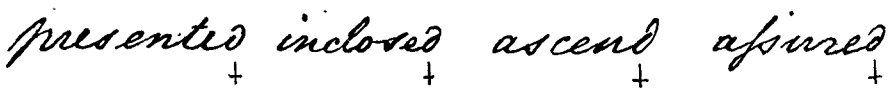
Junius, however, employed that form of the letter very frequently at the ends of words, and displayed considerable variety in its formation. The most distinctive is, perhaps, a dwarfed form, no less a distinguishing feature of the Junian hand than of the hand of Francis, as is apparent in the following facsimiles:—

[1] See page 148.

JUNIUS.

5.1 5.15 5.13 5.2

FRANCIS.

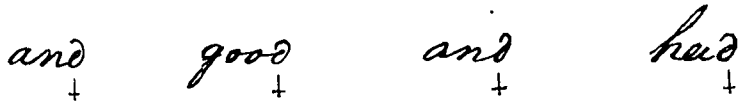


141.8 190.2 121.15 139.3

JUNIUS.

21.7 38.9 71.2 65.4

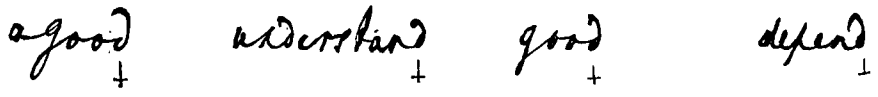
FRANCIS.



144.1 190.2 190.4 105.5

A similar formation, wherein the curl of the letter is terminated by a heavy pressure of the pen, and which is equally distributed in both handwritings, is shown in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.

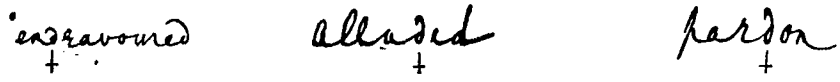


27.15 6.8 27.14 6.14

FRANCIS.

132.10 146.11 168.3 181.9

Both of the preceding formations occur occasionally in the middle of a word. The following facsimiles exhibit examples of each variety so written:—

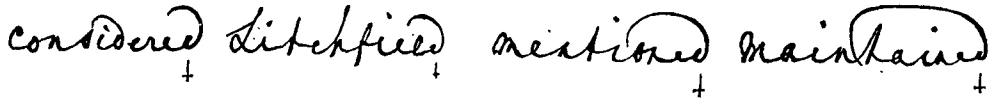
JUNIUS. 

99 36.13 32.17

FRANCIS.

136.2 182.5 176.17

In contrast to these, the curl of the letter is sometimes a light line only, thrown over several of the letters preceding it, the lower part of the letter being frequently open like a letter *c*, as in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. 

65.5 62.7 69.8 69.10

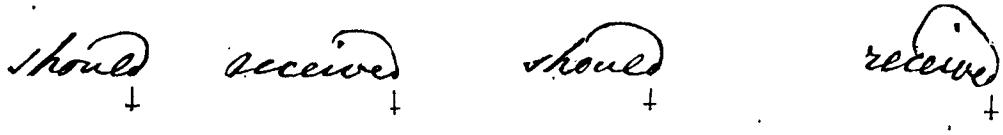
FRANCIS.

132.1 129.6 128.10 *

Other instances occur wherein the lower part of the letter is completely closed, and assumes the nature of a blot, as in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.

70.4 70.17 32.10 29.13

FRANCIS. 

192.7 129.17 209.2 153.7

* Taken from Francis's Letter of 16th: April. 1768. of which the 1st page only has been photo-lithographed.

The following facsimiles, in some of which the curl of the letter is thrown over the entire word, further exhibit how closely Junius and Francis assimilate in their different modes of writing this letter when it terminates a word :—

JUNIUS.

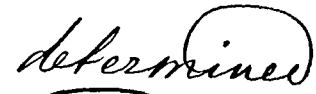
69.10

* 70.4

71.3

20.9

FRANCIS.

203.11 

187.3

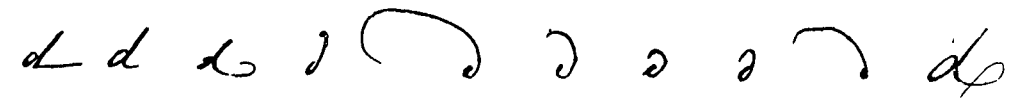
128.7

161.9

In addition to those several manners of writing the letter *d*, both Junius and Francis frequently adopted the ordinary formation of that letter when it terminated a word, as in the three first of the following comparative facsimiles, which, taken together, form an epitome of all the different formations of a final letter *d*, as found in the two handwritings.

JUNIUS.

37.7 30.2 18.7 27.14 69.10 65.5 38.9 5.13 70.17 66.6

FRANCIS. 

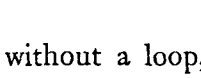
121.2 105.7 107.7 132.10 161.9 127.16 136.5 190.2 129.17 122.11

All these several formations, like those of the letter *r*, occur with nearly equal frequency in both handwritings, one only excepted, and that is the extremely angular formation given to the orthodox form of the letter by Junius, as shown

* Taken from Junius's Preface in the British Museum, page 10, line 13.

in the first of the above examples, which was evidently intended for the purpose of disguise. See the 1st line of his Letter to Mr. Grenville (Junius, Plate 1), and the first three lines of his Letter, Plate 16. This formation of the letter effected a good disguise, being at variance with all others in common use by Francis. A clear inadvertence occurs once only in his writing, imperfectly shown in the photo-lithography of the plate (Francis, Plate 121), in the word "fatigued," line 2, but more plainly in the first example in the preceding engraving. Junius, however, frequently dispensed with that form of disguise. His unguarded Letter to Mr. Grenville, of 20th October, 1768 (Plates 5 and 6), and at least fifteen other pages of his writing, are as free from it as any Letter in the natural hand of Francis. Many other pages contain no more than one or two instances. In all these some one or more of the several distinctive letters of Francis shown in the preceding example take the places of the disguised letter.

Dwarfed Form of the Letter *l* in Words ending in *ll* and *ld* in Junius and in Francis.

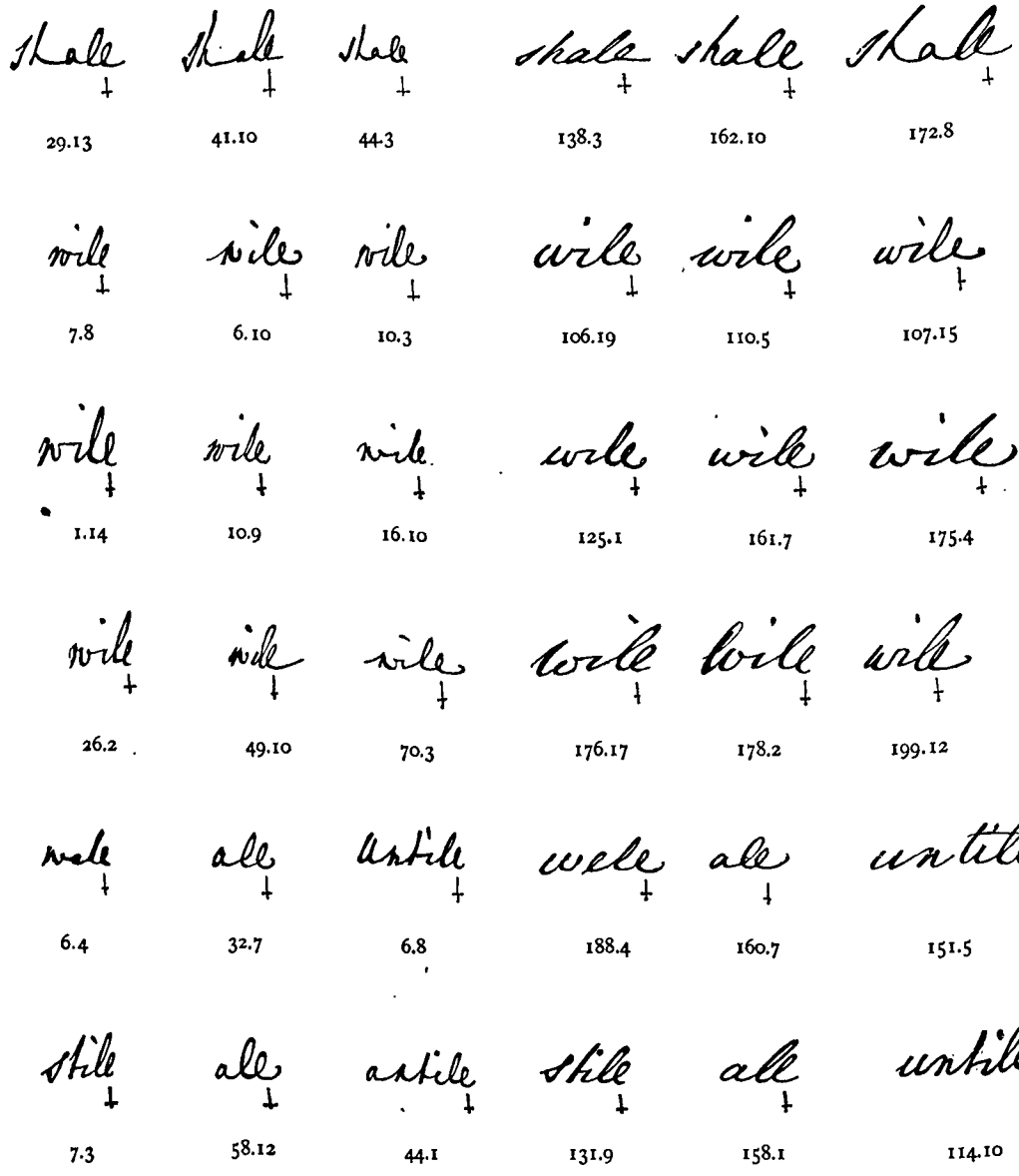
IX. Junius and Francis both wrote the letters *b* and *l* in keeping with the letter *h*, viz. with and without a loop, thus:  , giving in those letters, as in the letter *h*, a decided preference to the loop; in fact, the letter *l* is rarely written without a loop. In the Junian hand it occasionally shares the angular termination given to the letter *d* in that hand (see the words "laboured" and "immortal," Plate 16, lines 15 and 16).

When writing double *l*, in such words as "shall," "will," "well," "all," &c., Junius habitually formed the final letter corresponding with the final letter *d*, in a dwarfed form, dwindling to the size of a letter *e*, for which letter in many instances it might be mistaken, making the word "will" read "wile," and "untill" (spelt alike by both Junius and Francis with double *l*) "untile." A similar mode of writing double *l* distinguishes almost every page of Francis's writing, as displayed in the following comparative facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

8.19 26.6 45.13 105.15 109.10 131.2

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.



29.13 41.10 44.3 138.3 162.10 172.8

7.8 6.10 10.3 106.19 110.5 107.15

1.14 10.9 16.10 125.1 161.7 175.4

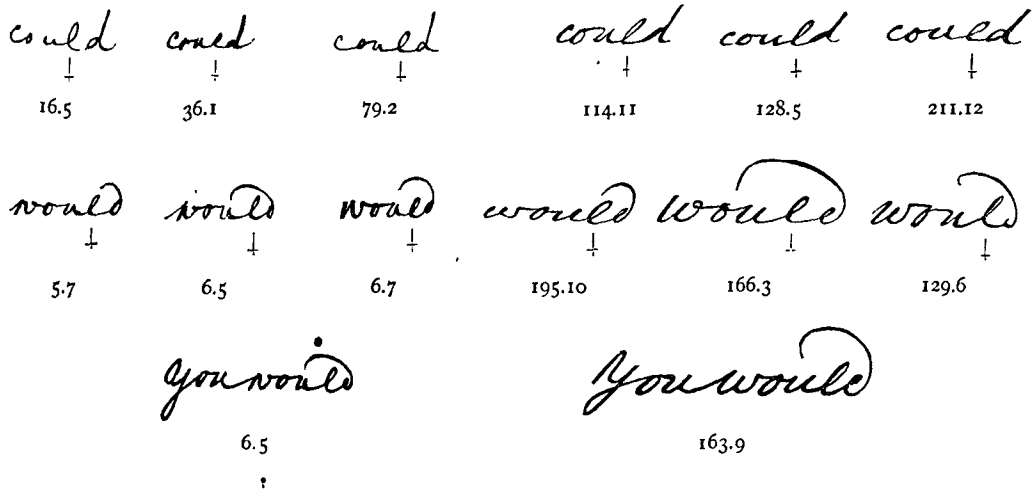
26.2 49.10 70.3 176.17 178.2 199.12

6.4 32.7 6.8 188.4 160.7 151.5

7.3 58.12 44.1 131.9 158.1 114.10

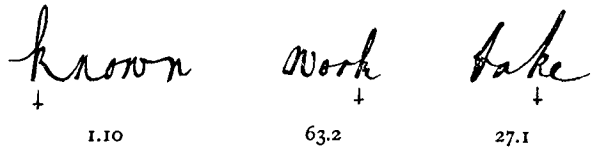
X. In like manner, in both handwritings, when the letter *l* precedes a final letter *d*, written either in the curled or in the common form, the letter *l* is not unfrequently written in very diminished proportions, as exhibited in the following facsimiles :—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

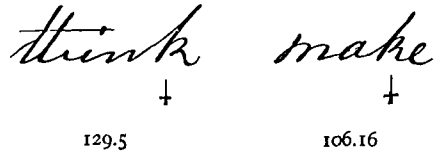


THE FORMATION OF THE LETTER *k* IN FRANCIS AND IN JUNIUS.

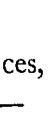
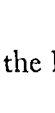
XI. Junius, in a large majority of instances, wrote the letter *k* in a properly formed manner, sometimes looped, and sometimes quite straight, in conformity with his letter *h*, thus: , as in the following examples:—



Francis adopted the same models when he wrote deliberately and carefully, and he followed them as closely as Junius, which the subjoined examples sufficiently show:—



The preceding examples of the letter *k*, by both Junius and Francis, taken independently, go no further than to show that both of those writers formed that

letter in the orthodox manner, and that they both formed it with equal ability. It is the mode of departure from the standard model that distinguishes the writing of two different individuals, or identifies the writing of a particular individual. In this respect there is a very close agreement between the hands of Junius and Francis in their formations of the letter *k*; so close that a comparison of this letter alone goes far to prove that the writing of both came from one and the same hand only. When Francis wrote either rapidly or carelessly, he still adhered to the established model for forming the letter *k*, but he followed it in such a manner that it became a distinctive feature of his writing. Under those circumstances, the letter became distorted, thus:   , as in the following examples:—

124.12 124.15 115.4 122.2

In many instances where Junius wrote unguardedly, and his hand lost the restraint to which it was subject, he reproduced Francis's distortion of the letter in a manner not to be distinguished from it, as shown in the following comparative facsimiles:—

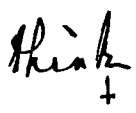
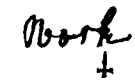
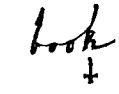
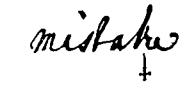
JUNIUS.

30.8 64.13 49.3

FRANCIS.

198.11 123.10 153.4

This distortion of the letter *k* is so distinctive in the common hand of Francis that he would naturally have endeavoured to exclude it whilst writing in a feigned hand. Not more than a dozen similar inadvertencies occur in the Junian hand,—amply sufficient to show the identity of the two hands. They are all comprised in the following comparative facsimiles, except one in the word "works," in Junius to Woodfall, No. 6, to which I shall have occasion to refer when directing attention more particularly to the handwriting of that letter (see page 90):—

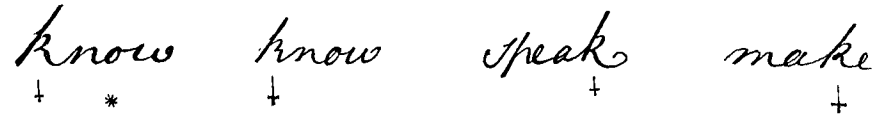
JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.	
43.14		116.13	
71.15		125.11	
68.13		185.10	
68.9		129.3	
26.13		173.11	
1.9		122.2	
66.12		121.13	
40.14		129.10	
6.9		152.15	
64.18		124.15	
40.17		129.16	
6.4		192.7	

The following comparative facsimiles are in strong contrast to the preceding, and sufficiently show that the carefully formed letter *k* in the Junian hand is as well represented in Francis's writing as the characteristic distortion of that letter is in the writing of Junius :—

JUNIUS.

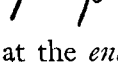
63.12 29.14 9.12 33.7

FRANCIS.



* 186.13 107.19 160.9

THE FORMATION OF THE LETTERS *g*, *y*, AND *p*, IN JUNIUS AND IN FRANCIS.

XII. When Junius was more intent than common upon disguising his hand, he terminated the tails of the letters *g* and *y* in a dot, thus: , instead of forming them with a loop in the ordinary way, thus: ; and the letter *p* he terminated in the curled, or italic, form, thus:  . Instances of a letter *y* at the *beginning* of a word, or of a letter *g* at the *end* of a word, *terminating* in a dot, are extremely rare in the natural hand of Francis, still more so the letter *p* in the italic form, in any part of a word.

These are positive and practical dissimilarities; but, to regard them, in a hand intended to be all dissimilar, as evidences that Francis did not write the Junian Letters is to expose one's eyes to the dust intended to be thrown into them, and thereby achieve the object for which they were intended. They are, however, ineffective to that end when, in the same hand, all the common formations, as well as many uncommon formations of those letters by Francis, are observed (see Plate J); and particularly when those dissimilarities, which are all prevailing in some

* Taken from Francis's Letter of 1. July. 1770. of which the first page only has been photo-lithographed.

of the Junian Letters, are as absent from others of those Letters as they are from the Letters of Francis.

More than fifty pages of the facsimiles of the Junian writing in this volume are deficient of the letter *p* in the italic form.

Not one of the letters *g* in Junius's Dedication and Preface (Plates 17–20) is in the italic form.

The words "you" and "yours" occur nine times in Plate 17. The letter *y* in those words is in no instance written in the italic form.

The words "you" and "yours" occur sixteen times in Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plates 5 and 6), but in no instance is the letter *y* written in the italic form. In that and in other Letters wherein Junius has failed to disguise the letters *g*, *y*, and *p*, the habitual formations of those letters by Francis are re-established. The inconsistencies in the disguises of the Junian hand will be more fully demonstrated in another part of my report.[1]

The common form of the letter *p* in the handwriting of Francis is often distinguished by being written as much above as below the line of writing; by the firmness with which the letter is written; and by its cramped disproportion. Similar formations frequently occur in Junius (see the word "keep," Plate J).

With regard to Junius's *y* terminating in a dot, the writing of Francis is by no means exempt from similarly formed letters at the ends of words. It will be found upon a close examination of the manner in which these dots are formed, not only in the letter *y*, but in all letters which are so terminated, such as the small letter *s*, and some of the capital letters, that both Junius and Francis formed the dot, where a dot was intended, with a single firm touch of the pen, so that it partakes more of the character of a dash than a dot, thus: .

When Francis terminated a letter *y* in this manner, the touch of his pen is not to be distinguished from that of Junius, as shown in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.

55.2

34.3

FRANCIS.

124.13

108.10

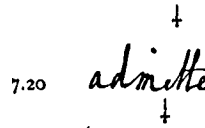
[1] Pages 111–119.

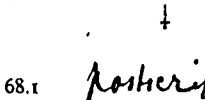
THE SMALL LETTER *i;* ITS INFLUENCE ON THE WRITING OF THE WORDS "him" AND "in;" ON THE FORMATION OF THE LETTERS *m* AND *n*, WHEN FORMING PARTS OF WORDS; AND ON THE SYLLABLE *ing*, IN JUNIUS AND IN FRANCIS.

XIII. In the preceding examples a disposition to diminish the size of the letter *i* has attracted my attention. The subjoined are other similar instances of the neglect of this letter. The first three are examples of diminutiveness, and the three following them show the letter not only diminutive, but isolated in the middle of a word.

JUNIUS.

8.18

7.20 

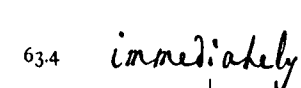
68.1 

FRANCIS.

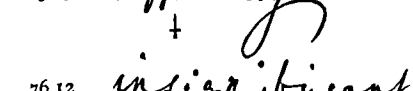
151.8

160.16

203.11

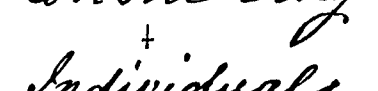
63.4 

63.13

76.12 

172.15

168.7

138.10 

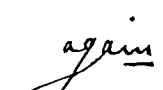
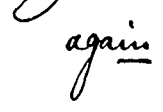
These may at first sight appear as trivial points. In reality, however, they are of considerable importance, on account of their speciality. Take, for example, the isolation of the *i* in the last three instances. This may be regarded not merely as a peculiarity, but likewise as an eccentricity or oddity; for there seems to be no reason why the *i* should not be joined to the letter following it in any

one of the instances, and the isolation is directly contrary to the general habits of writing both by Junius and Francis.

The neglect of the letter *i* is more practically apparent, from the fact that it is far more frequently omitted in a word than any other letter.

In Plate O are given all the instances of omitted letters by Junius and by Francis. Francis has omitted the letter *i* thirteen times, and Junius nine times. No other letter has been omitted by either of them with the same frequency.

XIV. The writing the letter *i* had a singular and important influence on the handwriting of Francis, and its effects are equally conspicuous in the Junian hand. The occasional subversion of that letter in both hands has already been shown,[1] and is in strong contrast to the preceding examples. When the letter *i* precedes a letter *m*, or *n*, those letters are frequently written diminutively, and docked of their final up-strokes; besides which they are written in a different slope from that of the contiguous writing, as in the annexed facsimiles. This peculiarity is of habitual occurrence in the words "him" and "in." The altered character of the writing thereby given to those words continually arrests attention in both handwritings, see the instances exhibited in Plate K.[2]

	JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.
28.13		152.15	
44.11		125.16	
59.10		204.12	

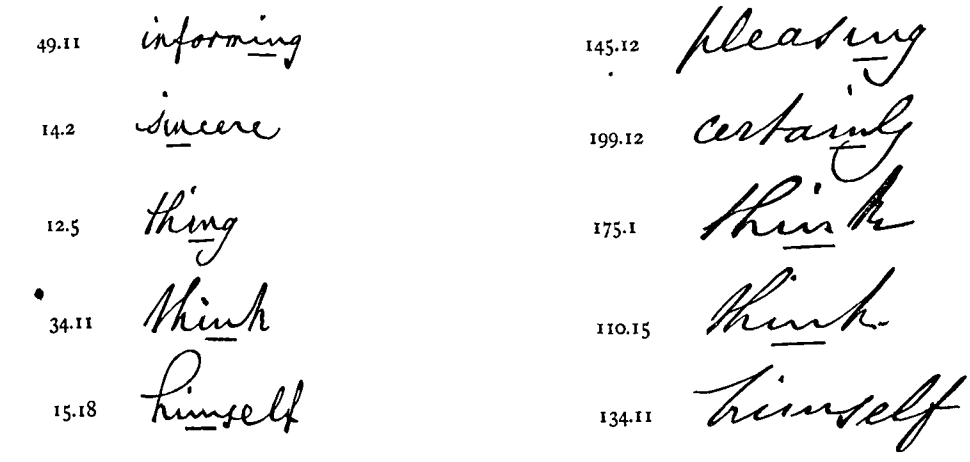
XV. So also, when *in* or *im* comes in the middle of a word, a similar effect frequently takes place, so far as regards the diminution of size, and alteration of slope, of the letters *i*, *n*, and *i*, *m*, as shown in the following examples:—

[1] Pages 8–10.

[2] See also the following additional instances:—

	JUNIUS.					FRANCIS.					
him	27.1	34.14	36.4	43.13	54.4	*him*	124.3	124.15	127.18	143.10	152.15
in	7.5	8.18	9.7	9.18	27.10	*in*	115.8	115.9	116.7	127.6	134.15
	34.5	39.5	40.14	49.12	66.21		141.3	151.12	161.8	161.17	175.16

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

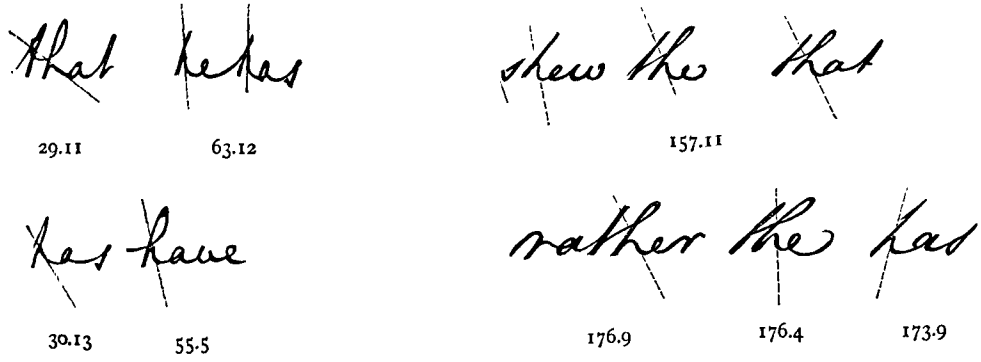


XVI. Again, when *i* and *n* (*in*) form part of the final syllable *ing*, those letters, in numerous instances, consistently retain these peculiarities, in addition to which the letter *n* merges into the letter *g*, as exhibited in Plate L.

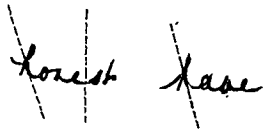
Occasional Deviations in the Slope of Parts of Letters in Junius and in Francis.

XVII. Deviations of slope are of constant occurrence in the writing of Junius. They also assail the eye repeatedly when reading the Letters of Francis. In many instances they are confined to parts of letters only, particularly the letters *h*, *m*, *n*, and *p*, as in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.



JUNIUS. FRANCIS.



64.11 64.17 156.3 172.7

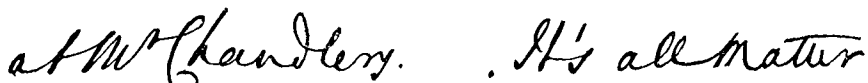
29.9 29.10 125.6 149.2

30.4 55.9 172.8 176.6

30.5 29.6 168.2 129.3

63.6 55.5 164.3 172.5

When Francis departs from the usual slope of his writing, as he has done in the words "Chandler" and "Matter," on the 5th and 6th lines of his Letter of 9th January, 1768 (see Francis, Plate 125), the writing immediately resembles that of Junius. If those words occurred after the word "Cavendish," in Junius to Woodfall, Plate 34, line 2, or after the words "on the cover," Plate 34, line 6, they would be more in place than where they now stand, thus:—

FRANCIS. 

JUNIUS.

So also the word "ever," on the last line of Francis's Letter, Plate 177, might well take the place of that word written on the 14th line of Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate I), or of the same word on the 6th line of Junius to Woodfall, Plate 34, thus:—

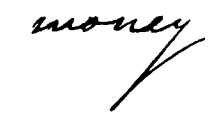
JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

The letters *m* and *n*, in the word "manner," in Francis's Letter, Plate 149, in which the slope of parts of those letters deviates in the manner pointed out, are in strong contrast to the commonplace formation of the letters *n* in the word "cannot," on the very next line of Francis's Letter. When an alteration takes place in the slope of Junius's writing, it exhibits a contrast of style quite equal to that of Francis, as the following facsimiles evince:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

7.5

149.2

28.9 

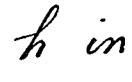
149.3

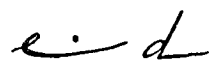
Various Modes of Terminating Words in Francis and in Junius.

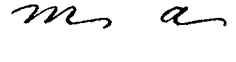
XVIII. The habit of docking the final up-stroke of the letters *m* and *n* at the ends of words, already remarked upon,[1] is not confined to those letters. The letter *h* is frequently terminated in the same manner both by Junius and Francis.

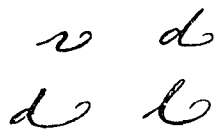
[1] See page 47.

The handwriting of Francis is particularly distinguished by the variety and constrast of the modes in which he terminates words. Occasionally letters are only half finished, as already shown; at other times some easily performed superfluity is appended to them, indicating freedom in the use of the pen. He falls into five or six different habits of this kind, viz.:—

1. An abrupt termination, without any final up-stroke, the words "which" and "with" being favoured with this termination as frequently as the words "in," "him," &c., thus:— 

2. In direct contrast to the above, a termination, more or less angular, often having a very long up-stroke, thus:— 

3. A termination with a curled up-stroke turned downwards, thus:— 

4. A termination with a curled up-stroke turned upwards, thus:— 

5. The joining the last letter of a word to the next word following it (see Example 5, Plate N).

To these may be added the termination of the letter *r* as exhibited on Plate B, also the various modes of terminating the letter *d* when in the curled form at the ends of words, already described (see page 38). All of these terminations are continually to be met with in the Junian hand. Comparative examples are given in Plates M and N.

The Letter *e* in the Terminations, also in the Beginnings, of Words, in Junius and in Francis.

XIX. The most remarkable of the above terminations is the fourth, which assumes all proportions, no less in the hand of Junius than in that of Francis, from the bold termination given by Junius to the word "mankind," Plate N, Example 4,

to the microscopic finish as given by him to the word "the," on the 8th line of those examples. Its enlarged form is chiefly confined to the long letters, such as *l* and *d*, especially to the latter; but, in its moderate proportions, no letter was more favoured than the letter *e*, both by Junius and Francis. No specimen of any length, of the writing of either of them, is without one or more instances of this distinctive letter *e*. Of all those by Junius in the British Museum, there are only two deficient of this remarkable feature; one consisting of eight lines of writing, and the other of only seventeen words. It is present, and to a like extent, in every page of the writing of Sir Philip Francis, without exception—some of them consisting of only five lines of writing. Their varied forms bear the closest comparison to those found in Junius's writing, and they constitute a dominant feature of both handwritings.

In many instances these terminations are freely formed, as in the following facsimiles :—

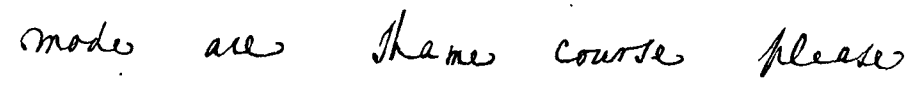
JUNIUS.

1.4 10.9 79.6 10.11 10.12 9.13 10.2

FRANCIS.

108.16 124.4 123.3 114.19 107.4 123.2 108.3

JUNIUS.

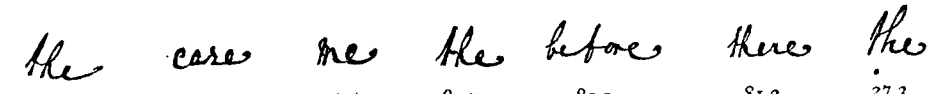


10.10 29.6 30.3 10.18 29.8

FRANCIS.

114.14 206.3 113.9 113.10 125.14

In others the curl degenerates into what appears to be a small blot; this again becomes, sometimes, no larger than the dot of a letter *i;* but upon a minute examination with a glass of moderate power, all these blots will be found to have a curled form, as in the subjoined facsimiles :—

JUNIUS. 

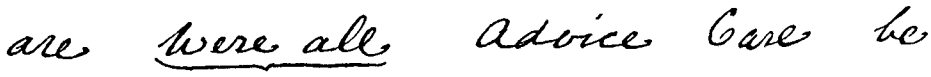
79.7 5.2 27.3 81.7 81.1 81.2 27.3

FRANCIS.

126.7 125.5 211.7 123.11 114.18 212.1 212.2

JUNIUS.

5.4 1.3 5.5 3.15 81.4 80.5

FRANCIS. 

106.4 145.2 105.10 126.9 126.8

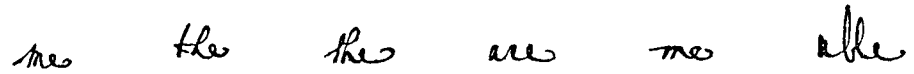
To appreciate all these critically, reference should be made to the photo-lithographs; or, better still, to the originals from which they have been taken. The annexed cut is an enlargement of each of the three terminations of the letter *e* above described. In the specimens of Francis's writing bound up in this volume, there are no less than 1150 instances of a final letter *e* terminated similarly to one or other of those models. A habit so inveterate would be extremely liable to be abundantly displayed in a feigned hand by him. The specimens of Junius's writing afford at least 850 instances in close resemblance to those in Francis's writing.

It has been already shown that both Junius and Francis wrote parts of the letters *h*, *m*, *n*, and *p*,[1] and occasionally the whole of the letters *m* and *n*,[2] considerably out of the slope of the contiguous writing. So also they both occasionally wrote the several forms of the final letter *e*, above described, out of the proper slope. Francis carries this departure to such an excess that the back of the letter lies on the line of writing thus: , instead of being written thus: ; and it is not, and could not, be exceeded in the more upright hand of Junius. The following examples illustrate this peculiarity:—

[1] See pages 48 and 49.

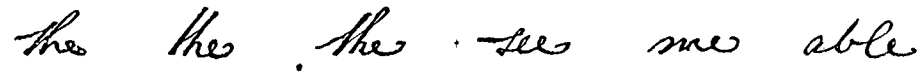
[2] See pages 47 and 48 and Plate K.

JUNIUS.



64.12 80.12 3.13 3.7 3.18 1.7

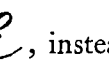
FRANCIS.



107.6 123.3 211.12 114.116 127.10 125.3

The foregoing are by no means specialities peculiar alone to the hand of Francis, except, perhaps, so far as regards the frequency of their occurrence. Lady Temple's writing exhibits one or two specimens of each of those forms when she was Miss Chambers (see Plate 221). When she became Mrs. Grenville, another and quite an opposite termination given to the letter *e* begins to distinguish her writing, and when she became Lady Temple, her writing in 1769 and 1772 (at the very time the Junian Letters were being penned) loses all traces of these distinctive marks of the Junian hand (see Plates 215, 216, and 222). It is idle to assume that such a subtle point engaged her attention, and that she suppressed these peculiarities from her natural hand to avoid detection. If they were natural to her handwriting, and she were aware of that circumstance, she would have excluded them from her feigned hand.

The least conspicuous of those terminations of the letter *e*, viz. those diminishing into a blot or dot, could not be assumed at pleasure by an experienced penman, or even by those accustomed to produce them. They are the accidental touches of a hand predisposed to them. They attracted my attention, on my first inspection of the Junian Letters, as a peculiarity which would be sure to mark the natural hand of the writer of those Letters. Francis's Letter No. 1 (Plates 105, 106, 107, and 108) abounds in them in no less degree than Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plates 5 and 6), or his Letter to Woodfall, No. 41 (Plate 64). On the other hand, Lady Temple's two Letters written in 1769 and 1772 do not produce a single satisfactory instance. The thorough absence from those Letters of the peculiarity now under observation gives singular importance to a point which otherwise might be considered unworthy of the attention which has been devoted to it. Lord George Sackville's writing, as also that of Dr. Wilmot, De Lolme, and Charles Lloyd, exhibits in some degree this mode of finishing the letter *e*. It must be left to individual judgment how far either of those writers can successfully compete with Francis in respect of this and other points, in which they all participate more or less.

XX. At the *beginnings* of words, a very different formation of the letter *e* was frequently adopted by both Junius and Francis, viz. the Greek form enlarged, thus: , instead of the common formations, thus:  , as in the following examples:—

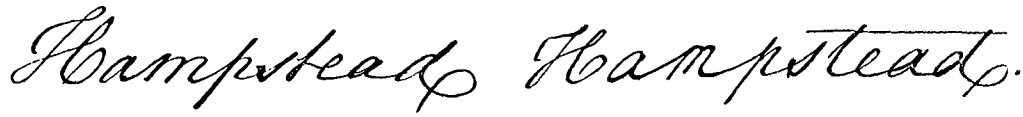
	JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.
70.10		106.6	
34.6		127.5	
1.9		173.6	
70.9		124.5	
1.14		177.13	
34.6		194.5	

Thus Junius and Francis agree in two distinct formations of the letter *e* to which they occasionally had recourse, one frequently at the *beginnings*, and the other as frequently at the *ends*, of words.

Dr. Wilmot is the only competitor who can fairly vie with Francis in respect of the Greek form of the letter *e*, but his writing is to be distinguished from Junius's and from Francis's by the frequency with which he uses it in the middles and at the ends of words. I have met with no instance in their writing of a Greek formation of the letter *e* at the end of a word terminated in their favourite manner, similar to that in the word "were," in the specimen of Dr. Wilmot's writing, Plate 263, line 3. Lord George Sackville and Charles Lloyd employed it for a capital letter, and De Lolme for a small letter only; it does not occur under any circumstances in the writing of any other competitor.

XXI. There is yet another and a very conspicuous mode of terminating words which must not be passed over, since it takes a prominent position in several of the Junian Letters, but is nowhere to be found in the *correspondent matter* of any of those of Francis. The following facsimiles, taken from Junius to Woodfall, Plate 64, exhibit this peculiarity:—

No less than eight instances of words terminating in this conspicuous manner occur in as many lines of writing in Junius to Woodfall, Plate 81. The feigned hand of Junius produced these like other extravagant disguises of his natural hand in paroxisms only. They made, however, a sudden appearance in that hand. This is apparent from the fact that all his Letters prior to the 20th June, 1771, are as free from them as any of those of Francis. These terminations are evidently intended, like the extravagant loops to the letter *h*, as a means of diverting the eye from other points which might attract the attention of those to whom his ordinary handwriting might be familiar. If Francis had been in the habit of terminating words in that conspicuous manner, he must have been aware of it, and would in all probability have shunned such a habit whilst writing in a feigned hand. He would have known that such an introduction would contribute to his discovery. Nevertheless, that mode of terminating a word was not an original idea from the mind of Junius; but, like the amplified single *f*, as already explained (see page 25), took its origin from the hand of Francis. Although no page of his writing affords an instance of this peculiarity, the parents of all those formations in the Junian Letters may be traced to his hand in the word "Hampstead," on the *outsides* of two of his Letters, both written in 1767, and addressed to his wife, as in the following facsimiles, taken from Plates 120 and 122:—



Words terminated in this manner have no place in Junius's first Letter to Lord Chatham, nor in any of his Letters written prior to the middle of the year 1771. This long forgotten form recurred to the mind of Junius for the first time,

whilst *addressing* his Letter to Woodfall, No. 35 (Plate 59), when writing the word "in" thus: ; and it is repeated in the *addresses* of no less than ten out of the seventeen Letters subsequently written to Woodfall. He also has recourse to it in the correspondent matter of most of those Letters. It is twice repeated in his next Letter to Woodfall, No. 36 (Plate 60), in the letter *d* terminating the words "inclosed" and "found," as in the following facsimiles:—

It occurs three times (again in the letter *d*) in the words "Richmond," "received," and "vagabond," in his Letter to Garrick, and twice in his Letter to Woodfall referring to that Letter, wherein it terminates the words "mistaken" and "publication," facsimiles of which have already been given. It then continues more or less frequently in his subsequent Letters, until it appears in full force in his Letter No. 57 (Plate 81), in which it occurs no less than eight times in as many lines of writing. There are also four instances in his second Letter to Lord Chatham, written in 1772, greatly distinguishing the handwriting of that Letter from the writing of his first Letter in 1768. No instance of this termination occurs in any of Francis's Letters written during the five years 1768 to 1772 inclusive; but after the Junian period I find an instance in the word October, written on the back of a Letter received by him from his brother-in-law in 1773. An instance approximating to this termination occurs in the word "all" on the last line of Junius to Woodfall, Plate 29, but it has a different character from those to which attention has been directed. This mode of terminating words is undoubtedly a characteristic of Dr. Wilmot's writing. Seven instances occur in his Letter (Plate 263). Tilghman also, who is no competitor for the Junian hand, has three times appended it to his signature in a manner far more in resemblance to Junius's termination than that of Dr. Wilmot (see Plates 244, 248, and 251). The latter, however, has the advantage over the former in respect of the curled termination given so frequently by Junius to the letter *e*. But when we put the handwritings of those persons into competition with that of Francis in regard to the fifth mode of terminating words, viz. by a junction of the last letter of a word to the next word following it, those writers are then completely off the field.

The Junction of Words in Junius and in Francis.

XXII. The joining of words appears, in the writing of both Junius and Francis, as a habit no less inveterate than that of the characteristic manner of terminating the letter *e*, already pointed out. Throughout all the Letters of Francis there is not a single page wherein there are not two or more words joined together, written continuously by a single operation of the pen. In many instances three and not unfrequently four words are thus joined. Three specimens only of Junius's writing are exempt from that practice, neither of them exceeding six lines of writing.

In Francis's Letter, Plates 105–108, no less than 116[1] such junctions occur. In Junius's Letter to Lord Barrington (Plates 21 and 22) there are at least sixty similar instances; and in his Essay (Plates 7–12) no less than 236. This joining of words is by no means an uncommon practice with rapid writers, but it was carried to excess by both Junius and Francis, irrespective of the pace at which they wrote. In Junius's Letter, Plate 21, line 12, *five* words are joined together, viz. "the part of a false;" and in Francis's Letter, Plate 196, line 1, the *five* words, "the finest boy of that," are all joined together; and on referring to the 8th line of the same page, six words will be found joined together.

The facsimiles from Junius's writing, bound up in this volume, contain as nearly as possible 12,450 words, and those from that of Francis about 12,500. Therefore the amount of writing in each of the two hands under comparison is very nearly equal. In each there are at least 1500 instances of junctions of words. The precise numbers cannot be ascertained from the photolithographs, as the fine lines connecting the words are not in all cases produced. There are doubtless many more instances than those which appear in the printed plates.

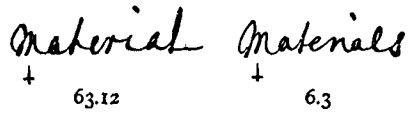
However common a junction of words may be to other handwritings, it is a point that demands attention when it is considered that the very absence of this practice distinguishes the writings of Lady Temple, Lord George Sackville, Hugh Boyd, Dr. Wilmot, and other competitors for the Junian hand. In some of them not only a disjunction of words, but also a disjunction of letters, denotes their want of fluency in the use of the pen. In this latter respect the writing of Lady Temple, particularly, is in marked contrast to that of Junius.

[1] Computed from the Original Letter.

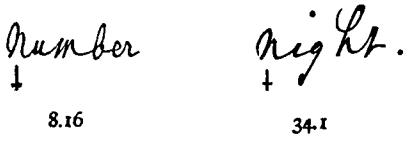
THE EFFECT OF A JUNCTION OF WORDS ON THE FORMATION OF CERTAIN LETTERS IN JUNIUS AND IN FRANCIS. THE LETTERS *m* AND *n*.

XXIII. The junction of two words had the effect of materially altering the character of the formation of certain letters in the two handwritings now under examination. Both Junius and Francis frequently formed the letters *m* and *n* in a somewhat distinctive manner, as in the following facsimiles:—

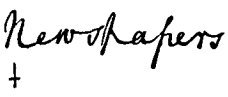
JUNIUS.



63.12 6.3

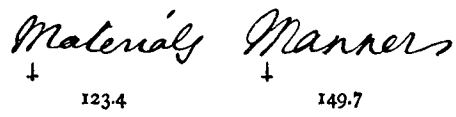


8.16 34.1

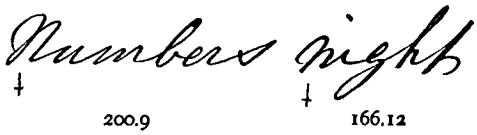


3.3

FRANCIS.



123.4 149.7



200.9 166.12

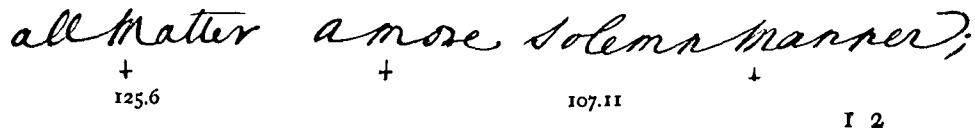
154.7

It will be observed that roundness of form characterises the upper turns, commencing the letters *m* and *n*, in the above examples. Those letters might have been joined to the words preceding them and still have preserved that character; and would do so in hands wherein roundness of form is habitual. This, however, was not so either with Junius or with Francis. When Junius joined either a letter *m* or a letter *n* to the word preceding it, he altered the character of those letters in a very marked manner by changing the round form into a very angular one. Francis also fell into the same habit, as is evinced in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.

11.13 11.15 36.14

FRANCIS.



125.6 107.11

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

37. No. 12.2 34.2 139.15 159.7

Moreover, they were both prone to join words commencing with *m* or *n* to the words preceding them. In Junius's Essay (Plates 7–12) there are twenty-five instances of words commencing with a letter *m*, and five with a letter *n*, joined to the words preceding them. In every instance those letters have an angular form. So also in Francis, Plates 105–108, there are nineteen instances of words commencing with *m*, and four with *n*, joined to the words preceding them; in all of these the letters *m* and *n* are angularly formed, in strict conformity with the practice of Junius. Exceptions are doubtless to be found in both handwritings, but not sufficient to disturb the importance of the observation.

XXIV. Francis, on very rare occasions, commenced the small letter *m*, when *disjoined* from the preceding word, not only angularly but in a very distinctive manner, as in the subjoined examples:—

108.14 109.13 111.3 111.6

Two instances of the letter *m* thus formed occur in the Junian hand, as in the words "man" and "money," written in the Essay sent to Mr. Grenville, as in the following facsimiles:—

10.3 10.8

Thus, three distinct formations of the letter *m*, at the beginnings of words, distinguish alike the handwriting of both Junius and Francis.

Now Dr. Wilmot's writing exhibits a very fair representation of the letter *m* formed in the manner last pointed out, and in the same word as in the example taken from Junius (see the word "man," Wilmot, Plate 263, line 15). There are doubtless other points of similarity to the Junian hand in Dr. Wilmot's writing; but it is extremely doubtful that he joined a word commencing with a letter *m* twenty-five, or even five, times in any document he ever wrote; and when we come to examine his formation of the letter *r*, and his mode of writing dates, as exhibited

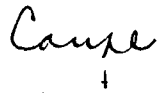
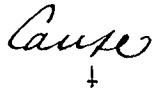
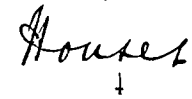
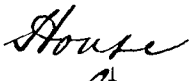
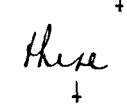
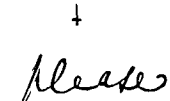
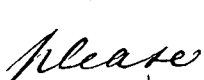
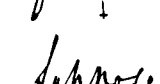
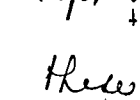
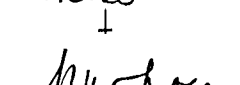
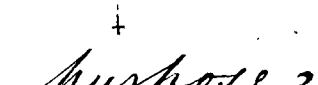
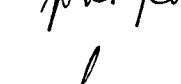
in Plate 262 (if the original from which that page has been copied be in his handwriting), we shall find his writing entirely deficient of two at least of the most vital characteristics of the Junian hand. See pages 14–22 and 121–129.

Disjunction of the Letter *s* in Junius and in Francis.

XXV. Although Junius was so much in the practice of joining words together, yet, when a letter *s* occurred in any part of words so joined, he habitually made a break by lifting his pen after forming that letter, and so disjoined it from the next letter following it. These breaks did not arise from fatigue of hand, as they occur repeatedly after the letter *s* in words standing alone. In Junius's Essay (Plate 8, line 10) the words composing the three phrases, "let some break down," "the rest travelled," and "so much for the," are severally joined together. In each there is a break after the letter *s*, where it occurs in those phrases. In the same Essay, (Plates 7–12), there are seventy-four similar instances of junctions of words wherein the letter *s* occurs. In all of these there is a break after the letter *s*, except in one instance wherein the long *s* is employed, viz. "sign of," Plate 8, line 6. So also in Francis's Letter, Plates 105–108, of the 116 instances of junctions of words which occur in that Letter, the letter *s* occurs in twenty-three. In all of these he has lifted the pen after forming the letter *s*, except in one, viz. in the last syllable of "postchaise," Plate 106, line 16. That instance brings me to a remarkable agreement between Junius and Francis in respect of the formation of the letter *s* when joined to a letter following it.

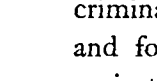
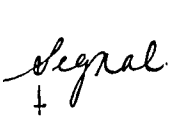
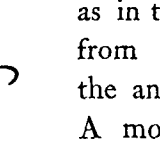
It is necessary to make a distinction between two letters which are in mere contact only, and two others which are absolutely joined together. The former is the result of two separate operations of the pen; the latter of one only. The letters *s* and *e* in the word "send," Plate 29, line 2, may be in contact with each other, but the pen has been lifted before forming the letter *e*, whereas in the word "please," on the 8th line of the same page, the letters *s* and *e* are joined together by a continuous operation of the pen.

The form of the letter *s*, however, favours its disjunction from the next letter following it. Both Junius and Francis habitually disjoined that letter except when followed by a letter *e*. But the junction of those letters induced both of them to give an altered and distinctive character to the letter *s*. It then became firm and straight, more in resemblance to a letter *z* than a letter *s*, thus: , as exemplified in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.	
27.8		143.6	
30.11		149.8	
23.3		163.10	
29.8		200.5	
30.1		197.2	
32.8		155.6	
44.7		153.2	
47.7		174.13	
38.1		169.16	

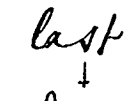
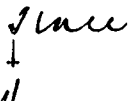
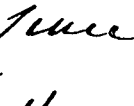
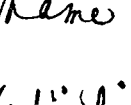
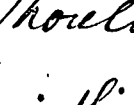
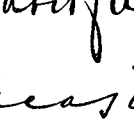
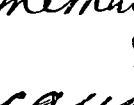
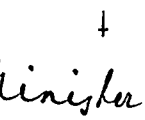
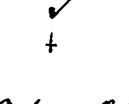
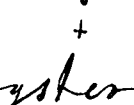
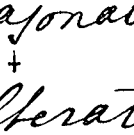
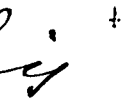
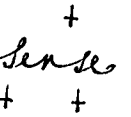
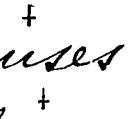
VARIOUS FORMATIONS OF THE LETTER *s* IN JUNIUS AND IN FRANCIS.

XXVI. Of those of the small letters which do not extend either above or below the line of writing, next to the letter *r*, Junius gave more prominence to the letter *s* than to any other letter. He sometimes formed it in such a manner that it is difficult to determine whether a capital or a small letter was intended.

JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.	
2.3		175.3	
65.5		161.9	

Francis employed the same formation indiscriminately for a capital and for a small letter, as in the two examples from his writing in the annexed facsimiles. A more characteristic letter employed by both is that of a common formation carried considerably

below the line of writing when in the middle or at the end of a word, and above the line when at the beginning of a word, as in the words "occasion," "materials," and "since," in the following facsimiles, which collectively demonstrate how nearly Francis coincides with Junius in his several formations of the letter *s*:—

	JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.
32.9		162.3	
1.14		116.6	
30.5		111.3	
30.3		205.12	
1.6		124.13	
37. No. 12.9		117.11	
43.8		123.12	
52.1		116.8	
26.8		123.4	
60.6		173.7	
29.3		125.4	
21.9		125.9	
27.8		143.6	

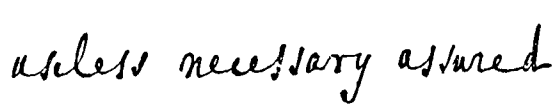
All of those formations pervade the two handwritings in nearly equal proportions, except one, and that is the long *s* when used in double *s*, or at the beginning of a word, as in the word "Secretary," in those examples. There are only two other instances of a word beginning with a long *s* in all the Letters of Francis, viz. the words "Son" and "Spirits," Plate 161, lines 12 and 18. Junius has twice written the word "Spirit" in a similar manner (see Plate 17, line 10, and Plate 28, line 1), but he, unlike Francis, has employed that letter at the beginning of a word in numerous other instances. It was clearly intended as a disguise, and its introduction three times in Francis's hand may fairly be attributed to his frequent habit of writing it in a disguised hand.

Although Francis has in so few instances employed the long *s* at the beginnings of words, he habitually employed it when writing double *s*, thus:

. Junius, on the contrary, although he frequently employed the long *s* at the beginnings of words, evidently endeavoured to avoid it when writing double *s*. He habitually wrote double *s* with two small letters, thus: . The Junian manner of writing those letters was, therefore, an efficient disguise of Francis's hand. I call it a disguise, because I find in the Junian hand inadvertencies of Francis's habitual formation of double *s*; and, *vice versa*, I find in Francis's hand the Junian manner of writing those letters.

Francis, however, on one occasion only infected his hand with the Junian mode of writing double *s*, viz. in the word "Dutchess," on the 2nd page of his Letter, Plate 178, line 8, as in the subjoined facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.



1.4 1.9 1.11 178.8

The double *s* as written by Francis is so closely identical with double *s* as written by Junius that it cannot be unreasonable to look upon its introduction into his hand as an inadvertency induced by the habit of writing it frequently in the same manner in a feigned hand. Francis has written both letters very

firmly and straight, and terminating suddenly in a dot; the two letters are disconnected from each other, and the second letter is the smaller of the two: all of which characteristics repeatedly distinguish the double *s* in the Junian hand.

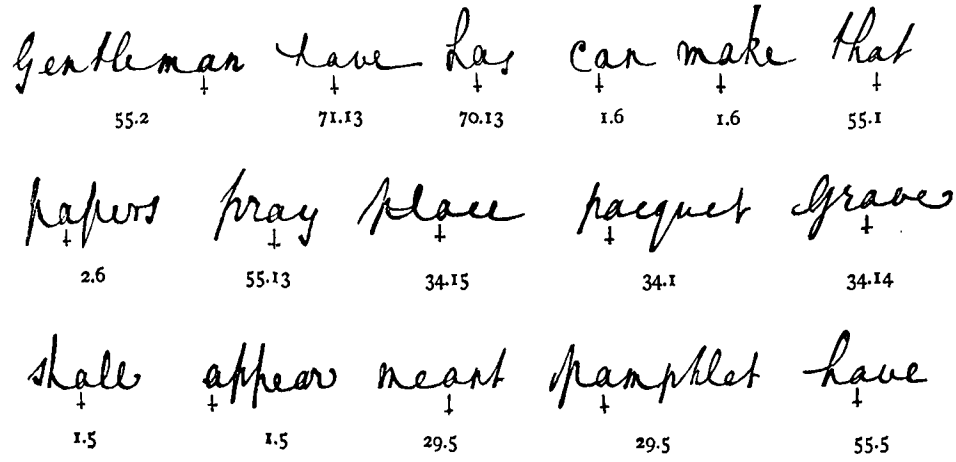
The disguises adopted in the writing of a feigned hand are far less likely to be carried into the natural hand than are the habits of the natural hand into the feigned hand of a writer. Four instances of Francis's confirmed habit of writing double *s* with a long *s* occur in the Junian hand. See the word "assertion," on the 15th line of Junius to Woodfall, Plate 32, and more particularly the word "assure," in his Letter to Mr. Grenville, Plate 5, line 9; also the word "assured," twice written, in Junius to Woodfall, Plate 28.

XXVII. It may not be out of place to notice here that Francis frequently employed the long *I* or *J*, thus: for the pronoun *I;* and in the same way that he three times imported the Junian long *s* at the beginning of a word into his natural writing, so he twice carried the long *I* or *J* into his feigned hand (see Junius to Woodfall, Plate 27, line 14, and Plate 41, line 9). No competitor for the Junian hand, except De Lolme, whose writings I have examined, rivals Francis in the use of *J* for the pronoun *I*.

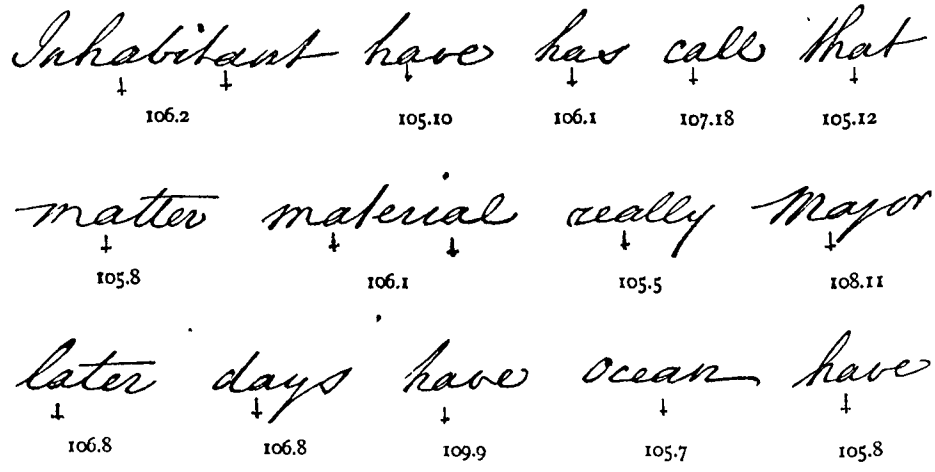
Formation of the Letter *a* in Junius and in Francis.

XXVIII. A single instance only occurs in each handwriting under comparison of a letter *s* joined to a letter *a*, viz. in the word "same" by Junius, Plate 29, line 12, and in "say" by Francis, Plate 173, line 13. This is the more remarkable when it is considered that both Junius and Francis formed the letter *a* in a manner quite as favourable for its junction with the letter *s* as the letter *e*. In fact, instead of forming that letter in the orthodox fashion by making it a compound of a letter *o* with a letter *i*, both of them made it a compound of a letter *e* with a letter *i*—frequently giving to the *e* part of the letter a very large eye or loop, thus: . This is so habitual as to give a distinctive character to the writing. See the following examples:—

JUNIUS.



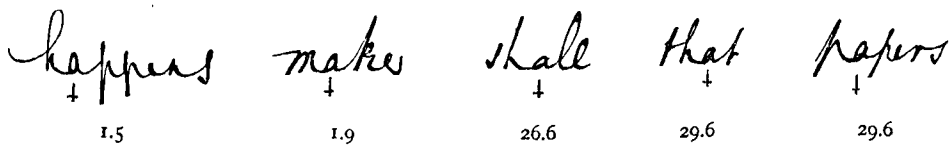
FRANCIS.



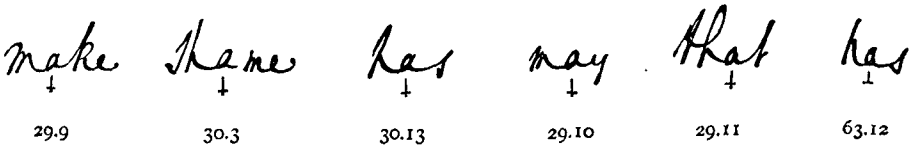
In many instances the eye of the *e* part of the letter becomes so large that apparently it relapses into a letter *o* formed with a double up-stroke, thus: . The double up-stroke lies between the two dots. A plain instance occurs in Francis, Plate 178, thus: . This, again, is often carried to such an excess that the two up-strokes come into contact

with each other and form together a single thick line, thus: as in the following examples:—

JUNIUS.

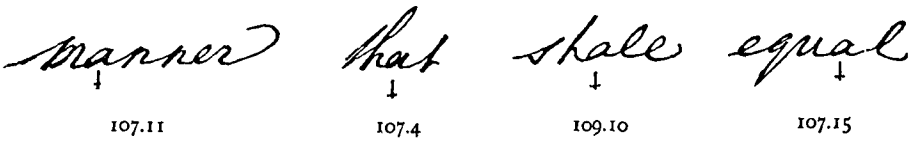


1.5 1.9 26.6 29.6 29.6

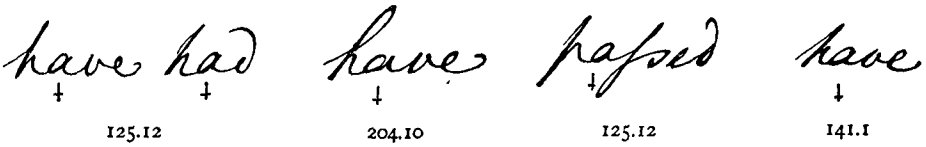


29.9 30.3 30.13 29.10 29.11 63.12

FRANCIS.



107.11 107.4 109.10 107.15



125.12 204.10 125.12 141.1

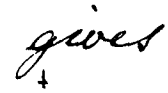
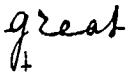
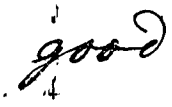
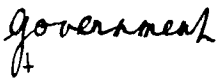
This mode of forming the letter *a* is not uncommon, and can hardly be avoided by rapid writers who join all the letters of their words. The Letters of D'Oyly (Plate 229), Barrington (Plate 230), Ross (Plate 232), Burke (Plate 233), Lord Lyttelton (Plate 255), are all written rapidly, yet neither of them can be so satisfactorily compared with those of Junius in respect of the formation of the letter *a* as the Letters of Francis. The importance of this point becomes more apparent when comparing the writing of Lady Temple with that of Junius. In her Letter, Plate 215, she has disjoined the letter *a* from the letter preceding it, at least a dozen times, and in that Letter there are few instances where she has joined it, in which the letter *a* will bear comparison with Junius's habitual formation of that letter. Lord George Sackville's writing, as also Hugh Boyd's, is equally defective in this respect; and although Dr. Wilmot presents better examples than either, yet

in the sixteen lines of his writing (Plate 263) there are as many instances wherein the pen has been lifted before forming the letter *a* in the middle of a word as in Lady Temple's Letter. In some instances the letter may touch the letter preceding it, yet the two letters have not been written continuously, as in the examples taken from Junius and Francis. The writing of Mrs. Dayrolle (Plates 253 and 254) assimilates to that of Junius in this particular, nearer than that of any of the other competitors already mentioned. But there are other features connected with the letter *a*, in respect of which the writing of Francis displaces that of every other competitor who has hitherto been put forth for the Junian hand.

Both Junius and Francis habitually wrote the letter *a* at the beginning of words in an enlarged form, and frequently in the distinctive manner already described, making in many instances no distinction between capital letters and small letters. In some instances the *o* part of the letter (*a*), which should begin at the top, commences at the very bottom of the letter—sometimes from the outside, as in the first three examples, Plate P. In other instances the letter appears with a bar across it, as in the last three examples on the same plate.

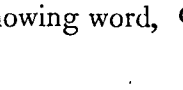
Occasional Characteristic Manner of Forming the Letter *g* in Junius and in Francis.

XXIX. Both Junius and Francis occasionally formed the small letter *g*, when it began a word, in an equally characteristic manner, as in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.	
70.1		205.1	
45.5		161.15	
20.4		158.14	

In each of these the *g* is commenced at the bottom of the letter with a hair-line to the left. I have not observed that letter similarly formed in the writing of any other competitor for the Junian hand than Francis.

THE LETTER *a* LIFTED FROM THE LINE OF WRITING BY THE LETTER PRECEDING IT IN JUNIUS AND IN FRANCIS.

XXX. Francis frequently joins the up-stroke of a preceding letter so much below the letter *a* that it has the effect of lifting that letter from the line of writing. The following word,  , taken from his writing, Plate 185, line 7, is a clear instance of what is meant. Plate Q exhibits numerous instances of this tendency in both Junius and Francis. Many others occur in both handwritings.

This peculiarity is extended to other letters of which *o* forms a component part, such as *d*, *g*, and *q*, and sometimes to the letter *e*, but in a far less degree than to those letters, the *o* part of which being generally formed like the *o* part of the letter *a* by both writers.

THE CONNECTION OF THE LETTER *o* WITH THE LETTER *y* AND THE FORMATION OF THE LETTER *y* IN THE WORDS "you" AND "yours" IN JUNIUS AND IN FRANCIS.

XXXI. It is a singular fact that the letter *o* itself rarely partakes of the characteristic formation of the *o* part of the letter *a*; and when joined to a letter *y*, the converse of the preceding peculiarity takes place in both Junius and Francis. This is particularly exemplified in the writing of such words as "you," "your," and "yourself" (see Examples 1, 2, and 3, Plate R, and 5, 6, 7, 8, Plate S). In those examples the letter *o* does not assume the form of a letter *e*, being commenced in the common way at the top instead of the bottom of the letter, and whether joined to the letter *y* or not, the letter *o*, instead of being lifted by that letter, is far more frequently written below it, as in Example 1, Plate R. Instances of the letter *y* written below the letter *o* are extremely rare in Francis's hand. Few other distinct instances besides those given in Example 2, Plate R, can be found in his writing. On the contrary, a strong tendency to write the letter *y* below the line of writing is to be observed in the Letters of Lady Temple and of Lord George Sackville, especially in those of Lady Temple—so much so as to be no less a distinguishing feature of her writing than the converse is of Junius's or of Francis's writing. Lord Lyttelton, in his Letters (Plates 255–258A), exhibits the same tendency; and Mrs. Dayrolle, the supposed amanuensis of Lord Chesterfield,

competes with Lady Temple in that peculiarity. Examples No. 4, Plate S, are fair specimens taken from Lady Temple's and from Lord G. Sackville's writing. A very conspicuous instance, however, occurs in the hand of Junius in the word "your," in his Letter to Woodfall, Plate 52, line 7; but it is there made, as in other instances in Junius, with a straight tail without a loop or any returning up-stroke, as frequently written by Francis (see Examples 3, Plate R), but in direct opposition to Lady Temple, Lord George Sackville, Mrs. Dayrolle, Lord Lyttelton, Edmund Burke, Charles Lee, and Charles Lloyd. In numerous instances both Junius and Francis form the tail of the letter *y* with a loop, as shown in all the examples in Plate S. Lady Temple's writing is more deficient in this common formation than that of any other competitor.

XXXII. There is, however, another peculiarity in respect of the letter *y* in which Junius and Francis agree. Both of them habitually write that letter larger than the other letters in the words "you" and "yours" (see all the examples from their writing in Plates R and S). There is no similar instance in either Lady Temple's, Lord George Sackville's, or Mrs. Dayrolle's writing, except in the word "your," when it begins a sentence. The writing of Hugh Boyd and Charles Lee is not open to the same objection (see Plates 235, 260, and 261). Nevertheless I do not believe that the handwriting of any person can exhibit the words "you" and "yours" in such strong similarity to the Junian hand as that of Francis, exhibited in Plates R and S. They present four different formations of the letter *y*, each having a distinctive character, thus: .

Enlargement of the First Letters of Words in Junius and in Francis.

XXXIII. The enlargement of the first letter of a word is by no means an uncommon practice. The extent of that habit varies with different writers. With some it is confined to one particular letter only; with others it is far more prevalent, as with Junius and Francis. On reference to Plates C, D, and E, it will be seen that each gives as much prominence to the letter *r*, when it begins a word, as to the letters *e*[1] and *y*, already noticed; but this peculiarity is not confined to those letters—other letters in turn are favoured with that distinction, particularly the letters *a*, *c*, *m*, *n*, and *s* (see Plate T). The same form is

[1] See page 55.

repeatedly used for all these indiscriminately for small and capital letters. Both Junius and Francis habitually prefix either an amplified small letter or a properly formed capital letter to many, but not to all, substantives, as observed by the author of 'Junius Identified.' It is unaccountable that with such a predilection for capital letters Junius should commence the name of the Deity with a small letter *g* (see Junius, Plate 42, line 1). Francis committed the same impropriety (see Plate 179, line 5).

COMPARISONS OF CAPITAL LETTERS IN JUNIUS AND IN FRANCIS.

XXXIV. Junius and Francis as a rule employed the simplest forms for capital letters. Both of them enlarged the small letter *a* for a capital letter, as in the following examples:—

JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.	
30.9		131.13	
34.4		113.1	
85.2		190.11	
30.6		173.3	

A single instance only of the orthodox formation of that capital letter, thus: , occurs in Francis's writing, viz. in the word "Annuity," Plate 114, line 14, but no instance in that of Junius.

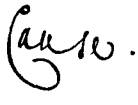
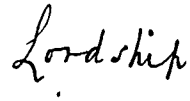
XXXV. In like manner Junius enlarged the small letters *m* and *n* for the capitals of those letters. On two occasions only has he written the capital letter *M* in the orthodox form (see the abbreviation "Mr.," Plate 74, lines 1 and 10), but in no instance has he written a capital letter *N* in like form, thus: . This is perfectly consistent with the hand of Francis, who gave a preponderating preference to the enlarged form of the small letters *m* and *n* in the place of the orthodox formation of capital letters in all cases, except when writing the months May and March in the datings, and "Mac," in the name of his brother-in-law in the salutations, of his Letters. He then gave a slight

preference to a letter *M*, thus: , in "March;" but where that word occurs in the body of his Letters, he gave an overwhelming preference to a letter thus: . In writing the name of his brother-in-law in the salutations of his Letters, he wrote seventeen times, and eight times, no doubt considering the orthodox capital letter more staid and correct.

XXXVI. Junius sometimes carries the capital letter *B* below the line of writing, thus: , but it is an evident distortion of Francis's habitual formation of that letter, as in the following examples:—.

	JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.
36.18		
29.5		205.8

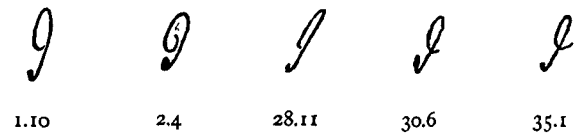
XXXVII. The capital letters *C*, *L*, and *R*, are also constantly carried below the line of writing in both handwritings, as in the following facsimiles:—

	JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.
34.4		145.5	
2.1		114.19	
13.4		141.13	
87.6			

* Taken from Francis's Letter of 5th Oct.r 1768, the 1st page only of which has been photo-lithographed.

XXXVIII. Junius rarely deviates from one plain and monotonous form of the capital letter *I*. He frequently makes it round at the top, and terminates it suddenly in a dot on the line of writing. Innumerable instances of identity are to be observed in the writing of Francis. The following facsimiles are specimens from both handwritings:—

JUNIUS.



1.10 2.4 28.11 30.6 35.1

FRANCIS.

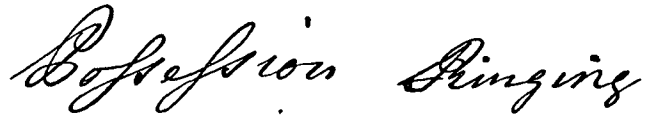
151.10 171.5 211.4 171.6 198.3

XXXIX. Junius occasionally makes a great display in the formation of the capital letters *P* and *R*, and Francis selects those letters for special embellishment, as may be seen in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.

74.11

FRANCIS.



172.1 134.1

XL. Neither Junius nor Francis made any distinction from small letters when writing the capital letters *Q* and *U*. These letters as capitals, however, seldom occur in either hand. A reference to Plates U, V, and W, will show in the most striking manner how very closely Junius and Francis assimilated in the formation of capital letters generally.

Abbreviations in Junius and in Francis.

XLI. Junius repeatedly substituted the common abbreviation for the word "and," which he formed, as nearly as possible, after the following model, thus: . Francis as frequently employed identically the same character. Whatever deviations Junius has made in its formation, very near counterparts may be found in the writing of Francis. With one or at most two doubtful exceptions in Junius, it was by both written upon, and never carried below, the line of writing.

The occurrence of this abbreviation in the Junian hand is by no means unimportant when the following facts in regard to its employment or non-employment by rival competitors to Francis for the Junian hand are considered. The word "and" occurs sixteen times in Lord George Sackville's Letter, Plates 223–225, and five times in his Letter, Plate 227. In no single instance has he, in those letters, written it in the abbreviated form. It occurs five times in Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter (Plates 253 and 254); five times in five lines of writing by Horne Tooke (Plate 236); and twice in Charles Lee's Letters (Plates 259–261); but neither of those writers has employed the common character to signify the word "and."

On the contrary, Lady Temple has in no instance in her Letters omitted to employ that character. The word "and" occurs eleven times in her Letter, Plates 215 and 216, in every instance written in the abbreviated manner, and in two instances carried below the line of writing. I have observed a single instance only of that word written in full by Lady Temple. In that instance it commences a line of poetry, in which case it would be a violation of propriety to substitute an abbreviation (see 'The Grenville Papers,' vol. iii. Plate 5); but where the word "and" occurs in the middle of a line in the same stanza, she has written it in her accustomed manner. Hugh Boyd, Gerrard Hamilton, Lord Lyttelton, and Charles Lloyd, appear to have been equally persistent with Lady Temple in writing the word "and" in the common abbreviated manner. It occurs eight times in Hugh Boyd's Letter (Plate 235), and once in his Letter, Plate 234; also twelve times in Lord Lyttelton's Letters (Plates 255–258A). In every instance in those Letters it is written in the abbreviated manner. The word "and" occurs once only in Dr. Wilmot's writing (Plate 263), also written in the abbreviated manner. On the preceding plate, however,

Plate 262, the word "and" is written in full; but I doubt the authenticity of that page, and shall hereafter remark further upon it.[1]

Hence it appears that four competitors for the Junian hand invariably wrote the word "and" in full, and five others invariably wrote it in the abbreviated manner; whereas Junius and Francis wrote it both ways. Upon taking a small induction only of their writing, the first to hand of each, viz. the five pages of Junius, comprising his three Letters to Mr. Grenville (Plates 1–3, 5, and 6), and the four pages of Francis's Letter No. 1 (Plates 105–108), it will be found that, in the former, the word "and" occurs written eight times in full, and seven times in the abbreviated manner; and in the latter it occurs written five times in full, and thirteen times abbreviated. These proportions, it is true, are unequal. There is a larger proportion of abbreviations in Francis's Letter than in the five pages of Junius's writing. But Francis was extremely irregular in respect of these abbreviations; so also was Junius. His Letter, Plates 15 and 16, contains the word "and" abbreviated eight times, and written in full once only: in this instance exceeding the proportion of abbreviations in Francis's Letter. It may be said that the specimens of the writing of Lord George Sackville, Mrs. Dayrolle, Horne Tooke, and Charles Lee, offer too small an induction to arrive fairly at the conclusion that they never abbreviated the word "and" in the common manner. That objection is to be met by the fact, that, however small be the induction of Junius's writing, if only a single page or solitary scrap, wherein the word "and" occurs, that word will be found written at least once in the abbreviated manner. The advocates of Lady Temple, Hugh Boyd, Gerrard Hamilton, Lord Lyttelton, Dr. Wilmot, and Charles Lloyd, may make the same objection, and with some show of success, by confining a comparison to Junius's Letter, Plates 15 and 16, wherein, as already observed, the word "and" is, in every instance except one written in the abbreviated manner, conformably with the invariable practice of those writers. But Francis's writing, like that of Junius, occasionally displays a persistency equal to theirs in regard to the writing the word "and" in an abbreviated form. In his very next Letter in order, No. 2 (Plates 109–111), the word "and" occurs six times, in every instance written in the abbreviated manner.

But Junius and Francis may be identified with each other and distinguished from four of those competitors in this particular, viz.: Junius, in his Letter, Plate 15, has joined the abbreviated character for the word "and" to the next

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See page 202.

word following it in two instances, viz. "& Minorca," line 3; "& that," line 14; and Francis also, in his Letter, Plate 109, has made three similar junctions, viz. "& pleasantest," line 2; "& by," line 5; "& Calais," line 7. No such junction takes place in the writing of any other competitor except Edmund Burke and Charles Lloyd. But although they rival Francis in respect of that point, they both fail, like Gerrard Hamilton, in the fact that they have carried the character for abbreviation below the line of writing in every instance where it occurs in their Letters (see Plates 233, 236, 266, and 267), contrary to the almost invariable practice of Junius of writing it upon the line.

Disregarding, however, all statistical observations, and confining comparison to the form only of the character employed by Junius for abbreviating the word "and," it will be found that the nicest point of identity with Francis's hand lies in the manner in which that character is frequently commenced by Junius, viz. with a fine line to the left, thus: , distinguishing it from Boyd's character, which is commenced to the right, as in his Letter, Plate 234, line 6, thus: ; and from Charles Lloyd's, who formed it very distinctively, thus: . Instances of this distinctive touch of Junius occur in the writing of no competitor for the Junian hand that has hitherto been brought forward except Francis. In his writing they abound, in many cases in absolute identity with others in the Junian hand, as the following comparative facsimiles clearly demonstrate:—

JUNIUS.

29.3 55.12 33.6 22.10 59.1

FRANCIS.

110.8 172.16 196.2 201.14 125.4

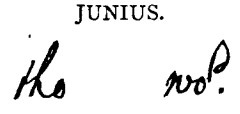
I doubt the possibility of the writing of any other person, whether he be a competitor for the Junian hand or not, to exhibit closer instances of identity with that hand than those which I have in the preceding examples selected from Francis.

XLII. Junius and Francis, when they wrote the common abbreviation for "et cetera," both added the letter *a*, and, what renders it more striking, placed it above the line of writing, as shown by the author of 'Junius Identified' (see

Examples 8 and 10 in the plates of that volume; see also Plate 208, line 4). Attention to so small a matter is extremely uncommon.

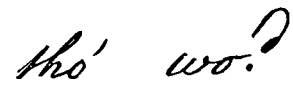
XLIII. Junius occasionally abbreviated the words "though" and "would," thus: "tho'," "wo^{d}:" and Francis also abbreviated them in the same manner, as in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.



34.2 34.13

FRANCIS.



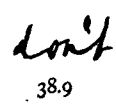
121.1 169.16

Junius also abbreviates, in numerous instances, the word "should" in a similar manner, thus: "sh^{d}." I find no similar instance of abbreviating this word by Francis in the specimens of his writing bound up in this volume; but, upon referring to the first volume of 'Parkes's and Merivale's Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis,' pages 391, 392, I find in a transcript from his writing, exemplifying his singular mode of reporting, that the word "should" is abbreviated six times "sh^{d}" as Junius abbreviates it. The word "would" is also there abbreviated five times "wo^{d}." I find, also, in the same transcript, the word "House" abbreviated "Ho." seven times; "Parl^{t}" is written for "Parliament" once; and "D. of Grafton" for "Duke of Grafton" once also. All these words are abbreviated by Junius in the same manner (see Plate 54, line 3; Plate 30, line 11; Plate 34, line 10; and Plate 36, line 10).

The agreement between Junius and Francis in their mode of abbreviating "would" and "should" respectively is the more remarkable from the distinctness of the principle on which each of the two words is abbreviated. The *o* is inserted by them in the word "wo^{d}," but is omitted by them in "sh^{d}." What might naturally be expected is that, the two words being phonetically so nearly the same, they would have omitted the *ul*, and retained the *o* in both. Lord Lyttelton abbreviates those words "*wou'd*" and "*shou'd*," and Mrs. Dayrolle abbreviates the word "would" in a like manner.

XLIV. Both Junius and Francis occasionally abbreviated the words "do not," as in the following instances:—

JUNIUS.



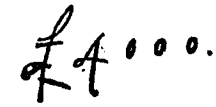
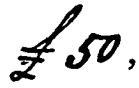
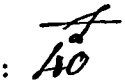
38.9

FRANCIS.

182.9

On other occasions, when they wrote those words in full, they connected them, as shown under the examples of "Junctions of Words," in Plate N.

XLV. Junius, in several instances, has abbreviated the word "your," (see Plate 29, line 2). Francis also abbreviated that word in the same manner, as in the following facsimile, taken from his Letter, Plate 172, line 5, thus:

XLVI. Junius, when writing a capital letter *L*, to signify pounds sterling, crossed the letter with a single line only (see Plate 40, line 10), thus:  Two instances occur in No. 27,776, British Museum, page 192. This may be considered a trivial matter, but not so when the following facts in reference to Francis's habit in respect of this point are attentively considered. He has crossed that letter in the more usual way with a double line, thus:  , wherever it occurs in his Letters written in 1767 (see Plate 110, lines 12 and 13); but wherever it occurs in his Letters written in 1768 and 1769, he has crossed it with a single line only, as in the Junian manner. The first instance occurs on the 2nd[1] page of his Letter of 16th April, 1768, thus:  (see also Plate 201, line 1; and Plate 212, line 10). Late in the year 1770, however, in his Letter of 11th December (Plate 162), he returned to his old habit of crossing the letter with two lines, from which he does not appear to have again departed.

The Punctuation of Junius and of Francis.

XLVII. Junius and Francis both punctuated their writing habitually; and where a sentence ends in the middle of a paragraph, they frequently give force

[1] The 1st page only of this Letter has been photo-lithographed.

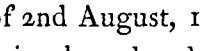
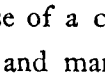
to the punctuation by substituting a dash for a period, and sometimes more effectively by employing both. Occasionally they add this dash to every other form of punctuation, in the following manner, thus:—

The most remarkable instances are those of the notes of exclamation and interrogation, involving in each three operations of the pen: see Junius to Woodfall, Plate 64, lines 4 and 14, thus: ; and Francis, Plate 110, line 14, and Plate 187, line 4, thus:

No one can be familiar with the writings of Junius and of Francis without having been struck with the tone of mind which these dashes sometimes convey. But, what is remarkable, many pages of their writing are entirely free from them, whilst others exhibit them plentifully. They appear to have indulged in them most when writing in an agitated or in an animated state of mind. Three instances occur in Junius's Letter to Garrick, and six instances in his Letter to Woodfall desiring him to copy that Letter (see Plate 64); seven also occur in Francis's Letter, Plates 109–111. That Letter, and his Letter, Plate 160, exhibit instances of these marks after every form of punctuation. They occur most frequently after a full stop, but in few instances after a comma. Two instances of the latter occur in Junius's Preface in the British Museum, No. 27,775, viz. after "him," page 9, line 16, and after "goodhumoured," page 10, line 11.

The editor of the 'Grenville Papers' remarks, in reference to the Junian manuscripts, at page cxci, vol. iii., that "The punctuation is always most carefully attended to;" but he makes no comment on the very defective punctuation of Lady Temple. When I look at the punctuation of her writing, as also that of Mrs. Dayrolle's, I quite agree with the following observation made by the author of 'Junius Identified,' page 376:—"Nothing affords greater scope for diversity of "practice than the *mode of punctuation.* It is a common thing for writers to "be very careless in this matter; but JUNIUS and SIR PHILIP are particular in "the use of stops, pointing with minute accuracy even the most trifling notes. "The principle upon which this is done shows the closest conformity of plan. "It may seem a trivial circumstance to some, but the introduction of the

"*short stroke* — or *dash* — between words as well as sentences, to the degree "in which it is done by both of them, is characteristic of the writers." An instance of this observation occurs between the words "place — say," in Junius, Plate 37, line 8, and between the words "same — for" in Francis, Plate 149, line 9. It is evident, in these instances, that the dash is intended as a mark of punctuation, often used by those who are precise in their punctuation.

XLVIII. Francis has placed a colon after each of the initial letters of the words "Nota Bene," on the 4th[1] page of his Letter of the 16th April, 1768; also on the 3rd[1] page of his Letter of 2nd August, 1769, thus:  In conformity with Francis, Junius has placed a colon after each of the capital letters signifying postscript, written to a note in his Letter to Vindex[2] (Plates 15 and 16), thus:  The use of a colon in these cases is extremely unusual. Most writers employ a fullstop, and many omit a stop altogether. Junius sometimes used a fullstop.

The editor of the 'Grenville Papers,' in his remarks upon the manuscripts of Junius, observes, at page cxci, that he has "not been able to discover more "than one or two instances in which the *dot* over the letter *i* has been omitted;" and on the next page he further observes that "the letter *i* has sometimes a "round dot over it, and sometimes a grave accent;" but he does not point out the latter characteristic as being peculiar to the handwriting of Lady Temple. The author of 'Junius Identified,' equally observant, very justly remarks, at page 376, upon the writing of Junius and Sir Philip Francis, that, "With extraordinary "uniformity, where imitation is out of the question, they each place a *grave* "*accent*, more frequently than a round dot, over the small *i*."

The Signature of Junius.

XLIX. Junius, when he signed his Letters, rarely subscribed himself otherwise than with a single initial capital letter (*C*), which he wrote in two different ways. One of them is of the simplest formation, merely a small letter amplified; the other is formed in the same manner, so far as regards the upper part of it,

[1] Neither of the pages from which these examples are taken has been photo-lithographed.
[2] This Letter is in the British Museum. The note referred to has not been photo-lithographed.

but the lower part is considerably curled, and partakes of the character of a capital letter. Both kinds are to be traced to the hand of Francis, as shown in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

124.2 115.6

134.3 134.12

Junius made his signature very distinctive by placing it between two lines, as shown in the above instances. Francis also has signed fifteen of his Letters with his initials only; and on two occasions, whilst the Junian Letters were being written—viz. on the 3rd May, 1769 (Plate 180), and on the 14th July, 1770 (Plate 182)—he added two lines, precisely as in the Junian signature, thus:

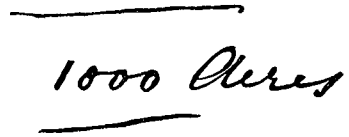
. He, however, allowed this evidence of the Junian hand to betray him on at least three subsequent occasions (see his Letter, Plate 184; also two Letters to his printer, written in 1807 (Plate 185), both of which are signed in accordance with his old habit when writing to Woodfall). On another occasion, when he was a member of Parliament, in 1804, he wrote *M.P.* in the same manner as in the following facsimile, taken from the 4th volume of the 'Chatham Correspondence' (Plate 35):

where again he employs the colon after each initial letter.

L. Junius gave prominence to the first word of a note to which he wished to direct particular attention by enclosing it between two lines in the same way as his signature, thus:—

55.13

(See also the words "private," Plate 33; "you need not advertise any notice," Plate 56; "private and particular," Plate 64.) Francis also emphasised notes to which he wished attention to be directed, in the same way, as in the following facsimile, taken from an endorsement written by him on the back of a Letter he had received from his cousin, Tarbot Francis, dated 4th May, 1770:—



LI. Both Junius and Francis wrote in paragraphs, and they sometimes gave additional independence to sentences by separating them from each other by means of a short line placed between them (see Junius to Woodfall, Nos. 5, 29, and 43; also the last page of Francis's Letter No. 7 (Plate 130); the 2nd page of his Letter No. 9 (Plate 134); and the 2nd page of his Letter No. 16 (Plate 150). Reference should be made to these instances in order clearly to appreciate their importance.

Some of these minor points, to which I have directed attention, may be common to the handwriting of other persons who are in the constant use of the pen. The strength of their signification in the present instance lies in their cumulativeness, and in the fact that they all belong to the hand of Sir Philip Francis, as well as to that of Junius, but are not to be recognised in the handwriting of any other competitor for the Junian hand whose writing I have examined.

The Numerals of Junius and of Francis.

LII. Anonymous writers frequently overlook figures when disguising their hands. The numerals of Junius and Francis correspond with each other in a remarkable manner. In the Junian hand they are written more uprightly, and

the tails of the figures 6, 7, and 9 are occasionally lengthened; otherwise there is no material disguise, except in the figure 8.

The figure 6, as formed by both, often commences at the top with a leading stroke, thus :—

In a few instances it is commenced at the bottom, and curled at the top, thus :—

The figure 7 is formed by two separate operations of the pen, thus :—

The figure 8. Francis habitually formed the lower part of the figure 8 first, and he sometimes finished it in a very distinctive manner, with a long stroke, amounting to a tail, thus :—

Junius, on the contrary, habitually formed the upper part of the figure first. He, however, on one occasion committed himself to Francis's distinctive formation. See the datings of the following letters, viz. Junius, Plate 1; Francis, Plates 126, 136, 138, 209, 210, 211, 212.

The figure 9 is also very peculiar, being frequently distinguished by a little touch, with which it is commenced inside the figure at the top, thus :—

Comparative examples are given in Plate X.

Mode of inserting Miswritten and Omitted Letters in Francis and in Junius.

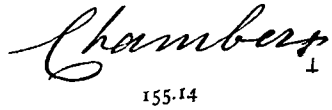
LIII. The effect on the handwriting occasioned by the superfluous appendages at the terminations of words, as exhibited in Plates M and N, and to which attention has already been directed, becomes more clearly apparent in the inconvenience which attended them when it became necessary to add an omitted letter, as in the following examples :—

JUNIUS.

86.1

57.4

FRANCIS.



155.14

192.1

It is a remarkable fact that, whenever Junius or Francis miswrote a letter in a word, neither of them corrected the error by drawing the pen through the letter wrongly written, and then inserting the proper letter *above* the line of writing, in the same way in which they corrected errors of words. Both of them invariably wrote one letter over the other in a slovenly and confused manner. See the word "wish," in Junius, Plate 25, line 2; "correction," Plate 29, line 2; and "excellently," Plate 42, line 3. Also the word "contempt," in Francis, Plate 168, line 17; "had," Plate 188, line 2; and "last," Plate 203, line 8. When, however, two letters were wrongly written then they struck them out and inserted the correction above the word, thus:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

18.2

191.4

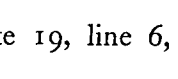
Not more than one or two such corrections occur in either hand.

LIV. Both Junius and Francis confounded the word "than" with the word "that"[1] (see Junius, Plate 68, lines 5 and 12; Plate 83, line 3; and Plate 88, line 5; also Francis, Plate 110, line 6, and Plate 145, line 14). Francis also appears to have altered the word "that" into "than" on the 13th line of his Letter, Plate 105. Again, Francis was very apt to confound the word "thing" with the word "think." He has done so on the 11th line of his Letter, Plate 125, having there written "think" for "thing." He committed the same error, and afterwards corrected it, in his Letter[2] of 9th July, 1768, page 2, line 11; also in his Letter, Plate 176, line 14, and again in his Letter, Plate 160, line 19. Thus he has in four instances, at least, confounded those words. I am, therefore, not surprised upon finding an instance in Junius to Woodfall (Plate 66, line 18). The manner in which the correction is there made is in striking resemblance to the correction made by Francis in his Letter, Plate 160, line 19, thus:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

[1] The editor of the 'Grenville Papers' has observed this habit of Junius, but he does not trace it in Lady Temple's writing.

[2] The 1st page only has been photo-lithographed.

LV. In strong contrast to this slovenly mode of correcting errors: when they misspelt a word by the omission of a letter, both Junius and Francis supplied the omission in an extremely quaint manner. A mere touch sufficed for a letter *i*, and other letters they inserted mostly diminutively, but always very distinctly. Plate O exhibits all the instances of words wherein a letter has been omitted that have arrested my attention in either handwriting, except one in each, to which I shall presently refer. It will require a vigilant eye to detect any other, unless it be in the word "founded," struck out of the 13th line of Junius's Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 1). In that instance the omitted letter *o* is inserted in the same precise manner as other omitted letters shown in Plate O. Upon examination of those instances, it will be found that neither Junius nor Francis has in any case written the omitted letter above, or signified the omission by inserting a *caret* below the word wherein the omission occurs, as is the custom with many writers, and as was also the practice of both Junius and Francis when they omitted entire words. Junius has in a single instance only followed that practice in the case of an omitted letter (see the word "Sampson," Plate 19, line 6, thus: ).

So also Francis on a single occasion only supplied an omitted letter in a similar manner, viz. in the word "Flanders," Plate 106, line 16, thus: . No other instance occurs in either handwriting; and in respect of those instances, in each case the letter omitted is a long letter extending either above or below the line of writing, and is so formed that it could not be inserted in the usual precise manner. When, however, a long letter of simple formation could be neatly inserted on the line of writing, then both Junius and Francis dispensed with the caret. An instance occurs in each handwriting. (See the word "shamefull" by Junius, and "tittle" by Francis, Plate O, example on line 16.)

Now, irrespective of the manner of inserting omitted letters, there is the remarkable fact that Junius and Francis made these omissions as nearly as possible in an equal degree in the same amount of writing; Junius having omitted a letter and afterwards inserted it in the manner pointed out twenty-five times, including the word "founded," struck out of the 13th line of his Letter, Plate 1, and Francis twenty-two times; and both of them, as already observed, blundered more in respect of the letter *i* than of any other letter.

Spelling of Junius and Francis.

LVI. It would require a very large induction of instances in other writers to draw a safe inference from the agreement of Francis and Junius in spelling particular words. Yet this is a subject I am bound to notice, otherwise it might be inferred that its investigation has been found to be prejudicial to my views. This, however, is not so; on the contrary, it is a strong point when I find the general habits of Junius and Francis in spelling agree to such an extent as to corroborate the inference to be derived from their handwritings.

Admitting the authority of Dr. Johnson's fourth edition of his Dictionary, published in 1773,[1] as a standard, there are at least nine words in which Junius and Francis agree in deviating from correctness, viz: "all*y*" for "all*ey*," "st*i*le" for "st*y*le," "compl*eat*" for "compl*ete*," "*e*ncrease" for "*i*ncrease," "*e*nquiry" for "*i*nquiry," "*i*nclosed" for "*e*nclosed," "unti*ll*" for "unti*l*," "ris*que*" for "ris*k*," and "pac*que*t" for "pac*k*et," *e. g.*:—

JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.
Plate 39, *line* 5.	*Plate* 169, *line* 9.
"Secret services *in* the All*y*,"	"the usual Roguery of the All*y*."
Plate 73, *line* 6.	*Plate* 201, *line* 12.
"The paper itself is, in my opinion, of the highest St*i*le of J[n]"	"The Spirit and St*i*le of the Addresses alarm*s* the Ministry,"
Plate 9, *line* 10.	*Plate* 136, *line* 6.
"and to combine with the bankrupt in compl*ea*ting the Creditor's destruction."	"except perhaps that Merrick has compl*ea*ted his ruin,"
Plate 8, *line* 20.	*Plate* 152, *line* 3.
"this method of *e*ncreasing the land tax"	"The opposition is truly formidable and *e*ncreases every day."
Plate 23, *line* 3.	*Letter dated* 16*th April*, 1768.[2]
"If any *e*nquiry is made about these papers,"	"Be so good as to *e*nquire"
Plate 1, *line* 1.	*Plate* 110, *line* 7.
"the observations contained in the *i*nclosed paper"	"The *i*nclosed Letter from your Sister"

[1] I exclude the authority of editions published after his decease.

[2] The 1st page only has been photo-lithographed.

JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.
Plate 6, *line* 8.	*Plate* 114, *line* 9.
"Until you are Minister,"	"nor do I intend until it may be absolutely necessary."
Plate 58, *line* 19.	*Letter dated* 14*th May*, 1768.[1]
"but the risque is yours"	"but the risque of such a sum"
Plate 34, *line* 1.	*Plate* 147, *line* 1.
"I shall be glad to see the pacquet you speak of."	"I will never let a pacquet go empty handed,"
Plate 61, *line* 5.	*Plate* 205, *line* 1.
"or to night in the Pacquet."	"The Detention of the Pacquet"

All these coincidences are irrespective of the question whether the mode adopted by Dr. Johnson was, or was not, in each individual case the proper mode of spelling, or whether the standard adopted is, or is not, the best that might have been selected. The point is that Junius and Francis concur in a number of deviations from a given standard of the period in which they lived.

The spelling of "Ally" for "Alley" may be regarded as a positive fault; yet probably some contemporaries of Junius spelt that word in the same manner. Some others may have spelt "risque" for "risk," and "Pacquet" for "Packet," and I do not doubt that many of them spelt "stile" for "style," "compleat" for "complete," and "encrease" for "increase." The combination, however, of nine deviations from the adopted standard, in both Junius and Francis, deserves notice.

A tenth and more comprehensive instance in which they both agree in deviating from that standard occurs in the spelling of adjectives ending with the syllable *ful*. Francis writes all such words with double *l*, as "plentifull," Plate 113, line 14; "usefull," Plate 114, line 4; and "wonderfull," Plate 160, line 15. In like manner, Junius writes "unskilfull," Plate 7, line 7; and "shamefull," Plate 80, line 10. There is evidence that Junius regarded the spelling of adjectives of more than one syllable ending with *ful* with only one letter *l* to be improper; for having in his Letter, Plate 80, line 10, first written the word "shamefull" with only one letter *l*, he afterwards corrected it by interposing another *l* between the letter *u* and the letter *l* already written, the extended termination of the latter preventing him from forming double *l* in his accus-

[1] The 1st page only has been photo-lithographed.

tomed manner, as shown on page 40. So also Francis has, on one occasion, made a similar omission, having spelt the word "disgraceful," in his Letter, Plate 172, line 16, with only one letter *l*. This was clearly an inadvertency occasioned by rapid writing, as indicated by the interposition of the word "both," which should have followed that word on the same line of writing. On no other occasion has he made a similar omission. The same word, "disgrace*ll*," occurs in his Letter, Plate 199, line 5, spelt with double *l*, the final *l* being dwarfed in size, as was his habit to write double *l* (see, again, page 40).

Dr. Johnson, in the edition of his Dictionary already mentioned, allows the last syllable of the words "dependance," "dependancy," and "dependant," to be spelt with the vowel *e* as well as the vowel *a*. Both Junius and Francis invariably elected the French derivation of those words by spelling their final syllables with the vowel *a*.

Francis used indiscriminately *in* and *en* in the spelling of words beginning with those letters. He writes both "*i*ntirely" and "*e*ntirely." I am therefore not surprised on finding that Junius writes both "*i*ntreat" and "*e*ntreat." They both write "*i*nquire" as well as "*e*nquire," *e.g.*:—

Junius, Plate 34, *line* 7.	*Francis, Letter of* 1*st July*, 1770.[1]
"All arts or Inquiries"	"and must have time to make proper inquiries"

And they both agree in this, that neither of them ever spells "*e*nclosed" except as "*i*nclosed," in opposition to Dr. Johnson. This is the more worthy of notice as that word is written eight times by Junius and six times by Francis. Both of them also differed from Dr. Johnson by writing "until*l*" for "until," but have agreed with him in spelling "till" with two letters *l*. The word "Pac*qu*et" occurs nineteen times in Francis, invariably written as in the "pac*qu*et" of Junius. Two instances of that word occur in Junius, viz. Plate 34, line 1, and Plate 61, line 5: in one instance it is written with a small letter *p*, and in the other with a capital letter. Francis also has repeatedly written it in both ways.

Although Dr. Johnson does not print the word "extr*eam*," he prints the word "compl*eat*" in its order, but refers to "compl*ete*," under which he gives his definitions and quotations of it, evidently preferring the latter mode of spelling that word. Both Junius and Francis, however, invariably wrote

[1] The 1st page only has been photo-lithographed.

"compl*eat*," and, what is remarkable, their deviations from Dr. Johnson are in numerous instances compatible with each other. If Junius spells "extr*eme*" as Dr. Johnson spells it, he also spells that word "extr*eam*" as Francis spells it. If Junius spelt such words as "favour" and "honour" without the vowel *u*, he also spelt those words with that letter, as Francis did; and if Francis sometimes wrote "n*ei*ce" and "n*ei*ces," he also, like Junius, wrote the same word "n*ie*ce" (see Plate 205, line 13).

I would likewise call attention to the word "lie," which has two very distinct meanings, but which is spelt correctly in only one way. It signifies "untruth," or to tell an "untruth." It likewise means "to lie down;" and in the last century it meant "to pass the night." Dr. Johnson spells that word precisely in the mode which is deemed correct now. In each signification he spells it "l*ie*," and not "l*ye*." Now although in this volume Junius and Francis do not happen to use the word in the same sense, each uses it in one of its senses; and both differ in the same way from Dr. Johnson in their mode of spelling it. This will be seen in the following instances:—

JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.
Plate 99, *line* 3, *margin, right side.*	*Plate* 184, *line* 1.
"repeatedly gave him the L*ye* & left him in Convulsions"	"I shall probably l*ye* at Isleworth on Monday."

Thus "lye" may be added to the words already specified to illustrate the concurrent deviations of Junius and Francis from Dr. Johnson's standard in spelling.

Francis spelt a word as "Counsell" in May, 1769 (Plate 180, line 3), which Junius spelt as "Council" in the December following (Plate 40, line 5), and in the same way several times in his Preface, two years afterwards. But the word occurs only once in Francis, and it is possible that he varied in his spelling of that word as he varied in his spelling of the word "niece."

Neither Junius nor Francis exact in Spelling Names of Persons.

LVII. Notwithstanding the general accuracy of Francis, he was not mindful in spelling the names of persons. Thus he spells the name of one of his friends as both "Meyrick" and "Merrick" (compare Plate 107, line 3, with Plate 136, line 6). Again, he spells the name of Mr. Edmund Burke as both "Bourke" and "Burke" in the same year (compare Plate 149, line 13, with Plate 158,

line 6). So also in the same year he spells the name of Colonel Luttrell as both "Lutterell" and "Luttrell" (compare Plate 180, line 5, with Plate 202, line 1). He likewise spells the name of his friend and cousin Tilghman as both "Tilman" and "Tilghman" (compare Plate 175, line 6; Plate 176, line 11; and Plate 177, line 1, with Plate 153, line 1).

In like manner Junius, notwithstanding his general accuracy, spells the name of a bookseller as both "Newberry" and "Newbery" in the very same page (see Plate 29, lines 5 and 9). Many persons feel aggrieved at having their names wrongly spelt; but Francis could hardly have been subjected to that annoyance, as it is not easy to misspell his name. It may have been, therefore, that, having had no experience of annoyance at the misspelling of his own name, he was not particularly sensitive when writing the names of others. Junius, again, was indifferent in the spelling of his assumed name, which he spells "Fretley" in his Letter to Woodfall, Plate 27, line 4, and "Fretly" in his Letter, Plate 52, line 5: thus the more completely agreeing with Francis in his inattention to this matter.

Juries are not unfrequently informed, sometimes to their surprise, that they are experts. They may be so, assuming that experience in such matters is of little value; but even admitting they have a large experience, I doubt whether they could thoroughly investigate many of the points to which I have already directed attention in the limited time at their command. Of one thing, however, I am certain, viz. that with regard to coincidences and differences in spelling, when once they have been pointed out, juries are as well able to form an opinion respecting their value as any ordinary adept. Under that light I leave these and some other points to the judgment of those who are interested in the subject now under discussion.

Junius's Private Letter to Woodfall, No. 6.

LVIII. Junius's Letter to Woodfall, No. 6 (Plate 28), is, perhaps, the most remarkable of all the Junian writing. That Junius did not exercise his usual caution and self-possession when he wrote that Letter, and that he had some misgivings that he was not doing so, is apparent from the continual alteration of the general style and size of the writing which takes place in many parts of it. These changes of style and size serve to convince me that that Letter, and all the other writing that has emanated from Junius, have been written by one hand only.

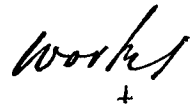
The style of the writing of the words "acquaintance," line 3; "question," line 4; "writings," line 5; "assistance," line 6; and "announced," line 11,

agrees generally with that of Junius's Letter to Woodfall, No. 12. The words "any" and "mine," line 5, and "anything," on the 12th line, might, without any impropriety, be placed on the 10th line of that Letter; whilst the words "to-morrow for Tuesday," line 11, would be more in place in either of his Letters to Woodfall, No. 5 or No. 7. Then, again, the style of the writing of the words "I am not," on the 11th line, is in perfect keeping with that of the writing of Junius's private Letter to Woodfall, No. 33. Other parts of the Letter (No. 6) are nearer after the style of the more finely written Letters Nos. 2, 15, and 31.

It has been doubted that Junius wrote the 8th, 9th, and 10 lines of the Letter now under observation (No. 6), commencing with the words "it does not depend upon us." The four words, "works," "point," "assured," and "you," on those three lines, were the first that attracted my attention, and the first that I identified as being in the hand of Francis when I commenced the investigation of the present question. That he wrote those three lines and the whole of Junius to Woodfall, No. 6, I am convinced from the following facts and observations:—

1. In respect of the three doubted lines, the letter *k* in the word "works," on the 2nd line of the Letter in which those three lines occur, is in strong contrast to that letter in the same word on the 8th line (the 1st of the three lines). The first is the carefully formed letter[1] in constant use by Junius; the second is absolutely identical with Francis's habitual distortion of that letter.[2] There is no clearer instance in all the Junian writing, as the following facsimiles evince:—

JUNIUS.



28.8

FRANCIS.

116.4

2. No word in the Junian writing affords a better example of Francis's unique mode of inserting an omitted letter than the word "point" on the 9th line (see the first comparative facsimiles in Plate O).
3. The word "assured" occurs four times in Francis's writing. In every

[1] See page 41.

[2] See page 42.

instance the first letter *s* of the double *s* is a long letter, and the final letter *d* is written in the curled form (see Plate 124, line 2; Plate 127, line 1; Plate 139, line 3; and Plate 142, line 2). The same word frequently occurs in Junius's writing, but in no instance written with the final letter *d* in the curled form as Francis wrote it, except in this unguarded Letter to Woodfall, No. 6. It occurs on the 4th line of that Letter, and again on the 10th (the last of the three lines, commencing "it does not depend upon us"), written with a long *s* and a final *d*, after the manner of Francis, as shown in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.

28.10

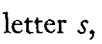
FRANCIS.

127.1

Whoever wrote the word "assured" on the 4th line also wrote that word on the 10th. In both instances the letter *r*, having no shoulder, is more in resemblance to a letter *i*, conformably with Francis's habitual neglect of that letter when writing the word "assure" or "assured."[1]

4. The word "you" occurs on each of the three doubted lines in Junius's Letter to Woodfall, No. 6, and seven times in other parts of that Letter, as also the word "your" three times. In every instance, except one on the 7th line, those words are written with an enlarged letter *y*, agreeably with Francis's inveterate habit, as pointed out at page 70 (see also Plates R and S).

5. The word "shall" is twice written on the three doubted lines with a straight letter *h*, detached from the letter *s*, in conformity with Francis's invariable habit, as set forth at page 12.

6. Francis's characteristic manner of writing the small letter *s*, thus:  , is plainly apparent in the word "suffer," on the 10th line, and the same formation carried below the line of writing, thus: , in the word "does," on the 8th line, as was his frequent practice when writing that

[1] See page 19.

letter at the end of a word. In the word "constantly," the letter *s* is not only carried below the line of writing but it is looped at the top in resemblance to a capital letter, thus: . Letters similarly formed occur occasionally, but only at the beginnings of words, in the writing of both Junius and Francis. The word "constantly" is the only exception in the Junian writing, and the word "continues," on the 1st line of Francis's Letter, Plate 129, is the only instance I have met with in his writing, thus:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

28.9 129.1

7. When Francis wrote hastily, the letter *s* frequently lost the dot in which it usually terminated, and became a straight line of considerable length, in precisely the same manner as in the words "us" and "works" on the 1st of the three doubted lines—see the subjoined facsimiles:—

28.8 28.8 135.5 115.12

8. The words "constantly have," on the 9th line, exhibit clear instances of the formation of the letter *a*, compounded of a letter *e* and a letter *i*, as habitually written by both Junius and Francis, and set forth at pages 65–68; and the word "shall," on the 9th line, exhibits the letter *a* lifted above the line of writing by the letter preceding it, as exhibited in Plate Q.
9. The words "present" and "works," on the 8th line, exhibit instances of the letter *r* with its shoulder well marked to the right of the letter, and the words "never" and "suffer," on the 10th line, instances of a terminal letter *r* with an arched shoulder; both of which are in habitual use by Junius and by Francis, as pointed out at page 15 (see also Plates A and B).
10. There is no other instance, in all the Junian writing, of a letter *p*

formed as it is in the word "present," on the 8th line. That circumstance is the only ground upon which a doubt may reasonably be founded that Junius did not write the three disputed lines. But that objection does not apply to the hand of Francis. He also on one occasion, and on one only, formed a letter *p* in like manner, viz. in the word "supposed," in his Letter of 4th December, 1771 (Plate 178, line 10). See the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.

28.8

FRANCIS.

178.10

It is singular that one such instance only occurs in either hand.

It is also remarkable that Francis's Letter of 4th December, 1771, written four months after the Letter to Woodfall, No. 6, contains three peculiarities of the Junian hand, neither of which is to be found in any other of his Letters, viz. the letter *f* in the word "If," Plate 177, line 4; the double *s*, written with two small letters, in "Dutchess," Plate 178, line 8; and the letter *p* in "supposed," Plate 178, line 10.

11. The formations of the letters *p*, in the words "depend upon," written on the *same* line as the word "present," are still greater departures from the curled form of that letter habitually adopted by Junius, and which may be seen in the words "publish," "point," and "printing," on the 2nd and 7th lines of his Letter (No. 6), and from which he has not departed when writing the word "point" on the 9th line (the 2nd of the three doubted lines); so far showing that Junius himself, whoever he was, wrote those three lines.

The presence of three different formations of that letter, two of them on the same line of writing, in strong contrast to each other, convince me of the unsettled state of Francis's mind when he wrote that Letter. It is under such circumstances that anonymous writers who disguise their hands unwittingly discover themselves. The words "depend upon" are in the natural hand of Francis, and the letters *p* in those words are

written as he wrote them when he wrote in a hurried and inattentive manner, as he has done when writing the last two pages of his Letter, Plates 116 and 117. See the words "suppose," Plate 116, line 5; and "upon," Plate 117, line 1; also the following comparative facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

28.8 116.5 117.1

In Junius's Letter to Woodfall, No. 22 (Plate 48), written as hastily and almost as unguardedly as the three lines in his Letter to Woodfall, No. 6, all the letters *p* are formed in the same manner as in the words "depend upon." In that Letter (No. 22) Junius's favourite formation is entirely laid aside, and the freely written letter of Francis, when he wrote in a careless and hurried manner, takes its place. Compare the words "suppose," "appear," "hope," and "support," in Junius's Letter No. 22, with the words "suppose," on the 5th and 10th lines, and "happiness," on the 15th line, of Francis's Letter, Plate 116.

The three lines now under consideration have been spoken of "as "exactly resembling the handwriting of Boyd." His Letters, Plates 234 and 235, appear to me to be written as freely as he was capable of writing, but I do not see in them a single instance of a letter *p* having an up-stroke carried from the bottom of the letter in the same manner as those in the words "depend upon" in the three lines in dispute; neither do I see in those Letters a single satisfactory instance of a letter *s* carried below the line of writing in the same manner as in the words "does," "us," "present," "works," and "constantly," on the three lines said to have been written by Boyd. His handwriting is characterised by the very converse of that habit. See in his Letter, Plate 234, consisting of only nine lines of writing, the six following words, viz.: "his," "first," "to-morrow's," "hours," "please," and "Wednesday." The letter *s* in all these instances is raised from the line of writing. Then, further, the three letters *d* in the words "does" and "depend" in the three doubted lines are formed in the common orthodox manner, but there is no

instance of such formation in either of Boyd's two Letters, Plates 234 and 235. All his letters *d* are in the curled form, thus: .

12. Lastly, the words "present," "works," "you," "point," "never," and "suffer," all commence with an enlarged letter, in conformity with the practice of Francis (see page 70, and Plate T).

LIX. Thus far in respect of the writing of the three lines supposed to have been written by Boyd, viz. the 8th, 9th, and 10th, in Junius to Woodfall, No. 6.

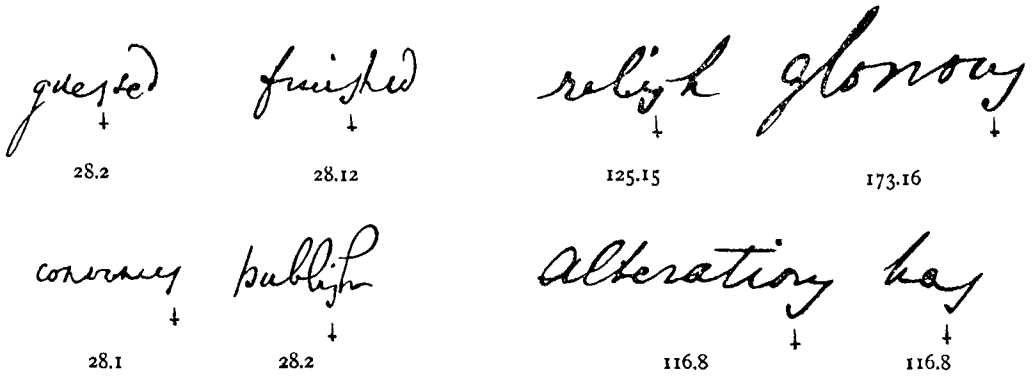
With regard to the handwriting of that Letter generally, no Letter written by Junius illustrates so many of the different points of identity with Francis's hand, to which I have already so frequently directed attention, as the Letter to Woodfall, No. 6. In addition to those applied to the three doubted lines may be added the following, viz.:—

1. The straight letter *h*, in the word "should," on the 4th line, in accordance with Francis's invariable practice when writing words beginning with *sh* (see page 12).
2. The letter *l*, written considerably smaller than the letter *d*, in the same word—"should" (see page 41).
3. It has already been observed (see page 12) that the word "shall," written with a looped letter *h*, on the 5th line, is the only exception in all the Junian writing to Francis's inveterate habit of writing that word with a straight letter *h*; but then the final *l* is smaller than the letter *s*, and no larger than a letter *e*, making the word read "shale," as frequently written by Francis when writing words ending in double *l* (see page 40).
4. Francis's variations of the curled form of the letter *d* are fully represented at the terminations of the words "guessed," "and," "assured," and "finished," on the 2nd, 6th, 10th, and 12th lines respectively (see page 38).
5. The particular formations of double and single *r*, habitually employed by Francis when writing the words "to-morrow" and "more," as on the 11th and 12th lines; as also other particular formations of the same letter when writing the words "are" and "assured," as on the 1st and 4th lines; likewise others of Francis's peculiar formations of the letter *r* in other words in Junius's Letter No. 6 (see pages 17 and 19; also Plates F and G).

6. Francis's varied formations of the single *f*, in the words "of," on the 1st 2nd, 4th, 5th, and 8th lines, and in the words "left," "finished," "confided," and "friend," on the 3rd, 12th, 13th, and last lines respectively; also the exceptional double *f* in "suffer," line 10 (see pages 23 and 28).
7. Three of Francis's common formations of the letter *g*, the tails of which are all looped, in the words "guessed," "writings," and "printing," on the 2nd, 5th, and 7th lines, to the entire exclusion of the disguised form of that letter terminating in a dot, so constantly resorted to by Junius (see the letter *g* in the word "thing," Plate J).
8. Three different formations of the letter *y*, in constant use by Francis, as in the word "you," on the 5th line, "tuesday," on the 11th line, and "any," on the 5th and 12th lines (see page 70, and Plates J, R, and S).
9. Francis's peculiar mode of writing the words "*in*" and "*him*," on the 13th line; also *in* when it forms part of a word, as in the words "acqua*int*-ance," "m*in*e," and "th*in*gs," on the 3rd, 5th, and 6th lines; likewise the merging the letter *n* into the letter *g* in the word "writing," on the 12th line (see pages 47 and 48, and Plates K and L).
10. All the five different modes of terminating words (see page 51). The first of these terminates the words "in him," line 13; the second terminates the words "should" and "be," on the 4th and 9th lines; the third, the words "would" and "much," on the 6th and 7th lines; the fourth terminates the word "assistance," on the 6th line; and the fifth is exhibited in the junction of the words "that you," on the 1st line, and "must be," on the 3rd line.
11. The mode of inserting an omitted letter, in the words "people," "wish," and "Whitworth," on the 2nd, 10th, and 13th lines (see pages 83–85, and Plate O).
12. The enlargement of the first letters of the words "acquaintance," "question," "you," "shall," "assistance," "suffer," and "capable," on the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 10th, and 12th lines (see page 70, and Plate T).
13. Francis's habitual disjunction of the letter *s* from the next letter following it, except that letter be the letter *e*, as in the words "whose," "guessed," and "arise," on the 2nd and 5th lines (see pages 61 and 62).
14. The characteristic manner of carrying the letter *s* below the line of writing, both in the middle and at the ends of words (see page 63). This distinctive peculiarity of Francis's writing is represented in a remarkable

manner in this Letter to Woodfall (No. 6), as shown in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.



28.2 28.12 125.15 173.16

28.1 28.2 116.8 116.8

15. Francis's peculiar habit of displacing the letter *a* from the line of writing by the letter preceding it is also strongly marked in the words "have," "that," and "shall," on the 2nd, 4th, and 5th lines (see Plate Q).

Boyd's handwriting doubtless presents some points of resemblance to peculiarities in Junius's Letter to Woodfall, No. 6; but they are of insignificant importance, and give way to more numerous and far more striking points of similarity found in Francis's hand, as will become apparent on reference to the Plate facing this page.

The desultory style of the writing of Junius to Woodfall, No. 6, contrasts strongly with the uniform style of his third Letter to Mr. Grenville, and that of many other pages of his writing. Francis also wrote occasionally in the same desultory manner (see his Letter No. 3, and compare the writing of the first page with that of the last two pages). A suggestion that the writer of the first uniformly written page did not write the last two pages, and especially the last two paragraphs, of that Letter, might be hazarded quite as successfully as the suggestion that Junius did not write the Letter to Woodfall, No. 6, or that any particular part of it was interpolated by some one else.

The Handwriting of the Junian Period.

LX. A writer in a distinguished periodical publication,[1] after denouncing the validity of Sir Philip Francis's claims to the Junian hand, asserts as a fact that

[1] The 'Quarterly Review,' No. 248, vol. cxxiv. page 325.

Comparisons of Words.

From Junius to Woodfall No. 6.		From Francis's Letters.	
28·1	are	116·15	are are 06·3.
28·2	you	202·12	you 210·13.
28·5	&	161·6	& & 151·5
28·5	you you 28·6.	131·3	you you 151·10
28·8	at it 28·5	202·	at
28·6	go	130·1	go
28·8.	depend upon	202·1	happier
28·9.	have	202·3	have have 173·1
28·9.	of money	110·13	of Opinion 202·1
28·10	assured	127·1	assured
28·10	you	110·6	you you you 125·10 115·14.
28·11.	to morrow	137·1	to morrow.
28·12.	writing any	179·5	writing any
28·12.	thing him. 28·13.	125·16	thing him 127·13
28·12.	more	192·8	more more 210·10.
28·9.	shall	162·10	shall

To face page 98.

"handwriting a hundred years ago was bolder, clearer, and less varied than it is "now." The specimens of the handwriting of seventeen different persons who wrote in the last century which are bound up in this volume, in addition to those of Junius and Francis, will furnish some materials to enable the reader to form his own opinion as to the value of this assertion. An inspection of various collections of autograph letters in the British Museum, written during the last century, completely fails to satisfy my mind of its soundness. Be that as it may, the general style of the writing of the Junian Letters themselves varies considerably, as does also that of Francis's Letters. It would be a hopeless task to convince some minds by means of scientific evidence alone that the same hand wrote Junius's Letters to Woodfall, Nos. 3 and 29, or that the same hand wrote the 2nd page of Francis's Letter No. 26 and the 1st page of his Letter No. 27; and again the first page of his Letter No. 31 and the last page of his Letter No. 32. Moreover, if it were true as an abstract proposition that there was less variety in handwritings a hundred years ago than now, this would be an unimportant fact, unless proof could be adduced, in consequence of it, that no inference could safely be drawn from a combination of coincidences in any two handwritings in that period. Such proof would be forthcoming if it could be shown that some other contemporary handwritings coincided with the Junian hand in peculiar habits as closely as the handwriting of Francis coincides with it. Such proof, however, has not been adduced, and certainly it does not exist in the case of Lady Temple, the claims of whom for the Junian hand have been so readily accepted by the writer above quoted as preferable to those of Sir Philip Francis.

The standard models for the radical forms of letters were essentially the same in the last century as those followed in the present day. The slope of the latter is now a little increased, and the turns of the letters are more elliptically formed than on the old model, whereby greater freedom and elegance are given to the writing, but the practical results from both models are in many cases the same. What is there to distinguish the writing of the last page of Francis's Letter No. 9 (Plate 135) from the scrawl of the time-pressed business man of the present day? or why might not Junius's Letter No. 22 be in the disguised hand of such individual?

Francis often wrote deliberately in a clear and bold hand, and not unfrequently in an opposite manner (see his Letter, Plates 133–135). The 1st page is in strong contrast to the last paragraph of that Letter.

Woodfall's Specimen No. 10 (Plate 34) is evidently written deliberately in a clear and bold hand, and in that respect differs from the Specimen No. 6 (Plate 28), especially the three lines commencing "it does not depend upon us," as much as the two portions of Francis's Letter differ from each other. Compare also the last page of Francis's Letter, No. 34 (Plate 192), with the last page of his Letter, No. 33 (Plate 189).

In the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville Papers,' at page cxci, the editor, in his panegyric on the "beauty" of the writing of Junius's Letter to Garrick (Plate 64) remarks: "It must have been written with an extremely fine pen, and the letters "are very elegantly and correctly formed." With regard to its "beauty" and the elegance and correctness of the formation of its letters, I can discover nothing in it to merit those encomiums more than Francis's Letters Nos. 1 and 31. And with regard to the fineness of the pen with which it has been written, a finely made pen would be a necessary auxiliary to enable a person who habitually wrote in a bold hand to reduce the size of his writing. A bold handwriting, like that of Francis, would instinctively suggest the contrast of a fine and diminished style of writing for a feigned hand. Such artifices in combination with an upright style of writing, independently of occasional alterations in the forms of letters, readily deceive superficial observers. It has evidently been the constant aim of Junius to keep down the size and strength of his natural hand. I see that aim distinctly in his writing at the beginning of his first Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 1); also at the beginning of his Essay which accompanied that Letter (Plate 7); likewise at the beginning of his Dedication to the English Nation (Plate 17). And I see plainly how completely he has failed to hit the mark when I look at the size of the writing which concludes those documents (Plates 2, 12, and 18). The editor of the 'Grenville Papers' has, in vol. iii. Plate 1, forcibly demonstrated these observations by placing the first two and last four lines of the Essay in close proximity.

I quite agree with Mr. W. J. Smith's remark in the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville Papers,' at page cxci—"It should always be mentioned as a requisite "qualification in a candidate for the Authorship of Junius, that either he or his "amanuensis should have had considerable proficiency in the art of penmanship."

The Letters of Junius are evidently the production of a well-trained hand, as is evinced by the masterly manner in which the loops of letters are occasionally made. See the letters *g* and *y* in the words "imagine" and "early," in Junius to Woodfall, No. 3. They are, however, rivalled in Francis's Letters. See the words

"neglecting," Plate 105, line 4; "day," Plate 107, line 14; and "body," Plate 107, line 17. Other similar instances are plentiful in Francis's writing. Lord Sackville and Lady Temple occasionally only half formed the loops of their letters, and sometimes lifted the pen in the middle of a word to do so, in direct opposition to Junius's habit of writing. See the words "compliments" and "cleared," in Lord George Sackville's Letter, Plate 223, lines 4 and 10, and the words "about" and "abundance," in Lady Temple's Letter, Plate 215, lines 1 and 2.

LXI. In the minute details of his writing the same inadvertencies that betray Junius in one specimen of his writing betray him in all. He has so imperfectly effected a disguise that a practised eye detects him with little difficulty by a comparison of any single specimen of his disguised writing with a specimen of his natural handwriting. In it will be found, in proportion to its extent, one or more, or it may be all, of the following dominant characteristics of Francis's natural handwriting, viz.:—

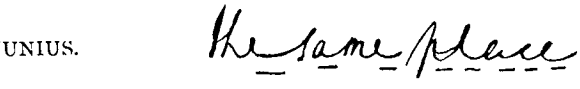
1. The letter *a* compounded of the letters *e* and *i*, and occasionally lifted from the line of writing by the letter preceding it (see pages 65 and 69, and Plate Q).
2. A distinctive termination given to a common form of the letter *e* at the ends of words, and the Greek form of that letter at the beginnings of words (see pages 52–55).
3. A contrary mode of terminating the letters *h*, *m*, and *n*, by docking them of their final up-strokes, particularly the letter *h* in the words "which" and "with," and other distinctive modes of terminating words (see page 51, and Plate M).
4. The letter *r* with its shoulder to the right and also with its shoulder to the left side (see pages 14–16).
5. The letter *s* invariably followed by the straight form of the letter *h* in words commencing with *sh*, and habitually disjoined from all letters following it, except the letter *e*, involving a distinctive formation of the letter *s*; also the extension of that letter considerably below the line of writing (see pages 12 and 61–63).
6. An altered slope given to parts of the letters *h*, *m*, *n*, and *p*, and to the letters *in* and *im* when they form parts of words; also to the words "in" and "him;" likewise the peculiar manner of writing the syllable *ing* (see pages 47–49, and Plates K and L).

7. The enlargement of the first letters of words (see page 70, and Plate T).
8. The word "and" written in the common abbreviated manner (see page 74).
9. The junction of words, and the influence of such junction on the formation of the letters *m* and *n* (see pages 58–60).

The General Construction of the Junian Handwriting.

LXII. Upon an attentive examination, it will be found that the slope of the Junian writing differs from that of Francis's principally in the down-strokes of the letters; and that the slope of the up-strokes, which is very horizontally inclined, is, as nearly as may be, the same in both. This will become clearly apparent upon an examination and comparison of the following facsimiles:—

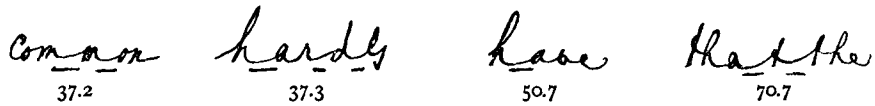
FRANCIS. 185.5

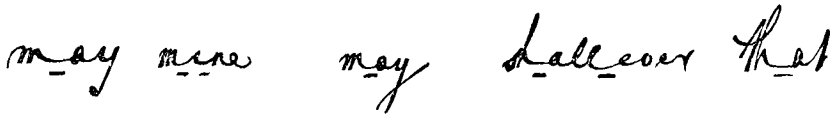
JUNIUS.  34.15

Some writers make both the upper and lower turns of their letters angular; others give them considerable roundness; the results are two opposite styles of writing. When Francis wrote rapidly, his writing partook of both characteristics in an eminent degree. See the first seven lines of the 3rd page of his Letter, No. 38 (Plate 202), wherein the upper turns of the letters are extremely angular, and the lower turns are well rounded, in addition to which the latter are extremely wide. If he altered the down-strokes—by making them more upright, without making any corresponding alteration in the up-strokes of his writing, those three qualifications would necessarily be augmented and become more distinctly apparent. Be that as it may, they are the principles upon which the Junian hand is constructed.

When Junius altered the natural tendency of his hand, which he sometimes attempted for the purpose of disguising it, by making the lower as well as the upper turns of his letters angular, the two leading characteristics of extreme breadth to the former and narrowness to the latter still remain (see his Letter to Woodfall, No. 3). It is not only the fineness and smallness of the writing, but also the angularity of so many of the lower turns of the writing of that Letter which occasions its general character to contrast so strongly with that of the Letters to Woodfall, Nos. 7, 9, and 10, and others of the Junian writing.

Although many of the Letters of Junius contrast with each other in their general appearance, the construction of the writing of all is based upon these principles:—In all, the upper turns of the letters are angular and cramped, and the lower turns wide and free; and the latter are habitually, though not always, well rounded, agreeably with the natural tendency of Francis's writing, particularly when he wrote rapidly. The extreme width of the lower turns of the letters frequently occasioned in the Junian hand as much space between the letters as between words, as shown in the subjoined facsimiles:—


37.2 37.3 50.7 70.7


1.10 5.14 5.14 3.17 2.5

The following words, taken from Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 1, line 12), forcibly illustrate these three peculiarities:—

In the word "attachment" the upper turns of the letters *h* and *m* are angular and narrow in the extreme, but the lower turn of the letter *h* is so wide that it occasions almost as much space between the two letters as is afforded between that word and the word following it.

The Subterfuges of the Junian Hand.

LXIII. Francis, when disguising his hand, has evidently directed his attention chiefly to such letters as extend either above or below the line of writing, and of these he has selected those which are most susceptible of disguise, such as the letters *f*, *g*, *j*, *p*, and *y*. The letters *b*, *d*, *h*, *k*, *l*, *q*, and *t*, appear to have taxed his ingenuity, their radical forms being generally neglected.

When he made the letter *d* in the orthodox manner, he was content with lengthening his own short letter and favouring it more than any other letters with an extremely angular termination, thus: ; and the letter *h* he

frequently rendered very conspicuous by the extravagant manner in which he formed the loop of that letter.

The letter *l* he occasionally favoured with all three of those distinctions, thus: .

The letter *k* is no further disguised than by being written in the orthodox manner; which, however, on several occasions gave way to Francis's habitual distortion of that letter.[1]

He formed the letter *f* in so many ways that it was difficult to find a disguise; he sometimes unwittingly employed the form used for the second letter of his double *f*. Occasionally he introduced the printer's italic formation of that letter, thus: , but more frequently a very distinctive letter, thus: ; but all of these frequently yielded to the many various formations habitually employed in his natural hand, as already pointed out.[2]

The letters *g*, *j*, and *y* he disguised by terminating their tails in dots, thus: , instead of forming them in the more usual manner of Francis, thus: . With regard to the letter *j*, Francis formed that letter with a tail terminating in a dot almost as frequently as with a looped tail. Junius endeavoured to avoid the latter formation.

The letter *p* he has well disguised, thus: .

He used the long *s* at the beginnings of words, and excluded it when writing double *s*, which he wrote with two small letters, thus: .

Francis intended the letter *w*, written in the Junian hand after the form of a letter *n*, thus: , to take the place of that in common use in his natural hand, made after the form of a letter *u*, thus: ; but he wrote it both ways, very seldom, however, in the *n* form, thus accounting for its frequent adoption in the Junian hand. In that hand there are several inadvertencies of Francis's habitual formation of that letter. An instance occurs, wherein his mind was more intent upon making a correction than in disguising his

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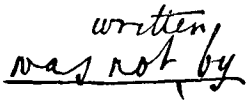
[1] See page 41.

[2] See pages 23–31.

hand, in which he has written it very plainly in his habitual manner in the *u* form. See the word "written," in Woodfall's Specimen, Plate 32, line 10:—



The *u* form of the letter *w* being habitually used by Francis in his natural hand, there can be no reasonable doubt that he deliberately adopted the *n* form in Junius as a disguise. He was on the whole tolerably successful in maintaining that disguise; but it is instructive to note that he was unable to preserve an absolute distinction between the two kinds of *w* through the two hands. In Junius he has admitted his own *w* sixty-three times in 1057 instances, while on the other hand he has employed the Junian *w* in his natural hand forty-four times in 958 instances.

The capital letters have little disguise beyond a deviation from the usual slope. So also with the others of the small letters—those which do not extend beyond the line of writing, such as the *a*, *c*, *e*, *i*, &c. Francis has evidently considered an alteration of slope sufficient disguise, no doubt considering that those letters, if made in one simple form common to all handwritings, needed no disguise. And so far he would have been right, had he confined himself to the common forms of making those letters; but he deviated from them in his natural hand in a remarkable manner in minute particulars, of which he could hardly have been cognisant, and he carried those peculiarities into his disguised hand, the most striking of which are observable in his formation of the letters *a* and *e*,[1] as also in his several modes of terminating the last letter of a word,[2] as already pointed out.

The unusual formations of the long letters of the alphabet previously specified, together with a diminished size of writing and an upright hand, constitute the principal disguises of the Junian hand. Nearly all of those peculiarities were carried into the natural hand of Francis, and it is extremely significant that not one of them appears in any of his Letters written prior to the 2nd January, 1768, the date of Junius's first Letter to Lord Chatham, except the angular termination to the letter *d*, and the letter *y* terminating in a dot, which occurs in a few instances only at the *ends* of words, but in no instance at the commencement, especially of such words as "you," "yours," &c. This formation of the letter, thus: ,

[1] See pages 65 and 51.

[2] See Plates M and N.

being so much a stranger in Francis's natural hand, it is not surprising that he adopted it when disguising that hand; still less so in respect of a similar formation of the letter *g*, thus: , no instance of which occurs in any of his Letters written in 1767. After that year nearly all the subterfuges and other peculiarities of the Junian manuscripts, one by one, more or less invaded the natural hand of Francis.

THE PRINCIPAL SUBTERFUGES AND OTHER PECULIARITIES OF THE JUNIAN MANUSCRIPTS INTRODUCED INTO THE NATURAL HAND OF FRANCIS SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE YEAR 1767.

LXIV. 1. Thus, on the 9th January, 1768, he introduced for the first time the Junian letter *f*, crossed with a loop (Plate 123, line 8), and repeated it frequently afterwards, thus:—

2. And in the same Letter, the long *s*, at the beginning of a word, and on two other occasions (see Plate 125, line 9, and Plate 161, lines 12 and 18), thus:—

3. On the 16th April, 1768,[1] the capital letter *L*, signifying pounds sterling, crossed with a single line only, thus:—

4. On the 2nd November, 1768, his letter *h*, with a large horizontal loop (Plate 212, line 11), thus:—

5. In the same Letter (Plate 212), and on six subsequent occasions (see Plates 147, 179, 193, 198, 203, 206), the figure 6 formed thus:—

6. On the 3rd May, 1769, Francis's initials, within two lines, as the initial *C* of Junius repeated on four subsequent occasions (see Plates 180, 182, 184, and 185), thus:—

[1] The 1st page only of this Letter has been photo-lithographed.

7. On the 7th June, 1769, the Junian double *f* (frequently repeated afterwards, as already demonstrated; see pages 26 and 27), thus:—

8. On the 13th January, 1770, the loop of the single letter *f*, amplified to the proportions of the Junian letter (also frequently repeated afterwards; see page 26), thus:—

The four cardinal disguises of the Junian hand in respect of the formations of letters, and which Francis succeeded with best in excluding from his natural hand, are those of the letter *p* in the curled form, thus: ; the letters *f*, *g*, and *y*, with tails terminating in dots, thus: ; an angular termination to the letter *d*, thus: ; and extravagantly formed loops to such letters as *g*, *h*, and *l*. Three others, of minor importance, are writing double *s* with two small letters, commencing words with the long *s*, and terminating words thus: . The almost total exclusion of those disguises from Francis's natural hand suggests a reasonable probability that the constant recourse he had to them, when writing in a feigned hand, was always present to his mind whilst writing in his natural hand; nevertheless each of them found a place in that hand subsequently to the year 1767.

9. There is, however, only one instance in Francis's hand of the italic formation of the letter *f*, which, although occasionally employed by Junius, is not so conspicuous as the preceding disguises. It occurs in the word "of," in Francis's Letter of 5th Oct.r 1768.[1] thus: .

10. There is also a single instance only in Francis of another and far more conspicuous formation of that letter frequently adopted by Junius, viz. in the word "If," in Francis's Letter of the 4th Dec.r 1771. (Plate 177, line 4), thus: .

[1] The 1st page only of this Letter has been photo-lithographed.

11. The letter *g*, terminating in a dot, clearly formed as in the Junian hand, occurs in scarcely more than two instances, viz. in the word "thing" — in his Letter of 5. July. 1769. (Plate 140, line 1), thus: ; and again in the same word in his Letter of the 6th: Sept^{r}: 1769. (Plate 199, line 14), thus: .

12. The letter *y*, terminated in the same manner at the beginnings of words, especially "you" and "yours," occurs once only, viz. in his Letter of the 4th: Nov^{r}: 1769. (Plate 202, line 13), thus: .

13. The Junian letter *p*, in the curled form, occurs once only, viz. in the word "presented," in his Letter of the 7th: June. 1769. (Plate 139, line 17), thus: .

14. And a letter with a loop amplified to the full extent of the Junian hand, once only, viz. in the word "his," in his Letter of the 13th: January. 1770. (Plate 149, line 10), thus: .

15. There is also a single instance only in Francis of double *s* (*ss*) written with two small letters, as habitually written by Junius; it occurs in the word "Dutchess," in his Letter of 4th: Dec^{r}: 1771. (Plate 178, line 8), thus: .

16. Three instances only occur in Francis's hand of the long letter *s*, so frequently written by Junius at the beginnings of words (see Francis, Plate 125, line 9, and Plate 161, lines 12 and 18). In these last the forms of the letters are not disguised, but two common formations of the same letter (*s*) are oppositely employed in the two hands.

The pernicious effects of practising a distorted hand first manifested them-

selves at the close of Francis's Letter No. 3, dated 5th Decr 1767. An irregular and unsettled style of writing marks, in various degrees, all his subsequent Letters. Writing became irksome to him, and he himself expressed, on more than one occasion, his antipathy to "the manual part of writing." The Letter of the 9th January. 1768. was written seven days only after Junius wrote his first Letter to Lord Chatham (2nd January, 1768), and possibly at the very same time that he was writing the Essay which was to accompany his first Letter to Mr. Grenville, and before he had become thoroughly accustomed to write at pleasure in two different slopes; thus occasioning the confusion of slopes so manifest in the writing of the 3rd page of the Letter of 9th January, 1768. The general character of the writing of that page is strongly suggestive of that of the 2nd page of the Letter to Mr. Grenville, dated only a month afterwards, viz. 6th February, 1768 (see Plate 2).

Now, any one or two, or even more, of the peculiarities of the Junian hand might very possibly be found in a large induction of the writing of other penmen than Francis, who, like him, have a versatile command of the pen, and are not uniform in the formation of their letters; but the point is this, that no less than sixteen peculiarities of the Junian hand cumulate in the hand of Francis, not one of which is found in that hand prior to the year 1768, or before those peculiarities had been well practised in another hand for many months, and that some of those peculiarities, when once they were introduced into Francis's natural hand, became as much established therein as in the hand of Junius.

Variety a Characteristic of the Junian Hand.

LXV. In the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville Papers,' the writer remarks (see page cxc):—"The great variety in the style of the handwriting used by the Author of "Junius would alone justify the assertion that it was certainly not the undisguised "and ordinary hand of the writer, and therefore it can scarcely be expected that "the handwriting of any individual should now be discovered that will correspond "*exactly* with that adopted by Junius. I believe it to have been a style of writing "acquired for the express purpose of these and other anonymous papers. It "became, in the course of time, and after long practice, as it were, a second and "totally distinct hand, which the writer could assume at pleasure, not perhaps, "without some occasional appearances of the character of the original style of "writing becoming perceptible through the disguise, and these instances varied

" according to the circumstances of the moment and the degree of care used." At page cxcii, the author further remarks:—" There are many peculiarities in the " writing of Junius, but scarcely any that can be said to be uniform and invariable: " it would rather seem to have been a study to display as much variety as possible." I presume the author here refers more particularly to peculiarities and their varieties in matters of detail, referring to the many fanciful formations of the letters found in the Junian hand.

Now, as Lady Temple's writing is not distinguished by any marked variety, either in general character or in points of detail, it is fair to presume, that if she handwrote the Junius Letters, she must have studied variety for the purpose of disguise; and so far, inasmuch as her writing is deficient of variety, the presence of it in an assumed hand would assist the disguise. But when Francis's writing is found to contain, as already shown, an abundance of striking instances of similarities of nearly all the varied peculiarities found in the Junian writing, it is far more reasonable to presume that the variety in the Junian hand was not the result of design, but of a natural habit of Francis, so strong, that when writing in a feigned hand, it became inadvertently a feature of that hand. Again, if variety were *studied* for the purpose of disguise, Junius would have displayed most variety in those letters which he was most anxious to disguise; but the converse is the case, for those letters present the least variety, and thereby so far effect the best disguise of Francis's hand. As an instance: in Junius's first Letter to Lord Chatham, of 2nd January, 1768 (Plate 13), the tails of all the letters *g* and *y* are written as nearly alike as possible. None are formed with a straight tail, and none with a loop, as frequently found in other letters which betray these habits of Francis's writing.

So also in Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 1), there is less variety than in his third Letter, evidently showing that he was more careless of disguise when he wrote the latter; and in proportion as he was so, the natural habit of variety which so distinguished Francis's writing became more or less displayed; so far quite proving Mr. W. J. Smith's remark that "these instances varied according to the circumstances of the moment and the degree of care used."

Some persons, when they disguise their hands, become more cautious when they write a second Letter, others become more negligent as they proceed. The latter was the case with Junius when writing his three Letters to Mr. Grenville, as will be seen in the following analysis of those Letters.

IRREGULARITIES IN THE JUNIAN HAND, AND THE INSTABILITY OF ITS DISGUISES.

JUNIUS'S THREE LETTERS TO MR. GRENVILLE.

LXVI. In Junius's FIRST LETTER to Mr. Grenville, which is a fair specimen of the Junian disguise, the first five sentences out of eight commence with a small letter.

"Sir" is written with a long *s*, instead of a capital letter, thus: .

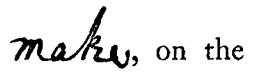
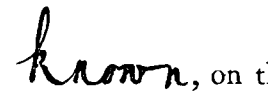
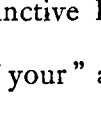
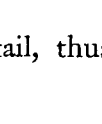
Of the letters *y*, five only out of thirty have a loop or a tendency to one.

Of the letters *g*, not one of ten has a loop or any tendency to one.

Of the letter *h*, twenty-five out of fifty-one have a large horizontal flourish, or a tendency to one.

The letter *p* is made in the curled form, thus: , in twelve instances out of twenty-four.

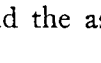
No word terminates with *d* in the curled form, thus: .

Less care was manifestly used after writing the 1st paragraph. Capital letters are not altogether discarded when commencing a sentence. The letter *k*, in the word "make," thus:  , on the 1st line of the 2nd paragraph, is Francis's habitual formation of that letter, whilst the letter *k* which follows it in the word "known," thus:  , on the next line, is intended for a disguise of Francis's distinctive letter. The letter *y* is formed with a loop, thus:  , in the words "your" and "you;" and as the Letter advances, on the 2nd page, it is twice made with a straight tail, thus:  , both of which are the habitual formations of Francis. The general character of the writing also varies. It commences in a cramped style, but as it progresses relapses to the size and strength of the natural hand of Francis.

The SECOND LETTER to Mr. Grenville (Plate 3) is still further relaxed in point of disguise. There is a fair proportion of the usual habits of Francis's writing intermingled with disguises, and capital letters are completely re-established at the commencement of every sentence.

In the THIRD LETTER to Mr. Grenville (Plate 5), far less caution is observed; the disguises employed in the two former Letters greatly diminish, and the natural habits of the writer become plentifully apparent. I consider the disguise of the writing of this Letter the most transparent of all the Junian writing, except, perhaps, the Dedication to the English Nation, and Preface, in the British Museum.

In this Letter, not one of the fifteen sentences begins with a small letter.

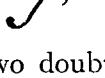
"Sir" is written with a capital letter, thus: , instead of a long letter, as in his Letter No. 2 (Plate 3), thus:  , and the assumed signature *C* is omitted.

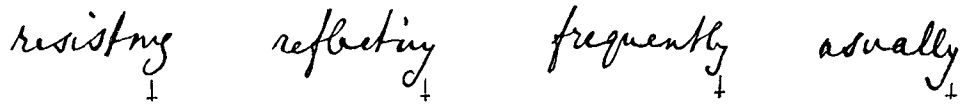
In contrast to the first Letter to Mr. Grenville, sixteen words out of twenty-three which terminate with a letter *d* have that letter written in the curled form, and of the seven instances wherein that letter is formed in the common manner, not one exhibits a sharp angular termination, thus: —a mode of disguising that letter adopted in the first Letter, and frequently resorted to in the subsequent writing of Junius.

Of the letters *h*, three only out of thirty-nine have a large horizontal loop, thus: .

Of the letters *y*, thirty-eight out of forty-four; and

Of the letters *g*, fifteen out of eighteen have looped tails.

The disguise of those letters, thus:  , so conspicuous in his first Letter, is entirely laid aside, except in one or two doubtful instances, which may be closely assimilated to similar instances in Francis's Letter No. 6. See the following facsimiles:—

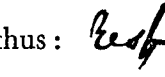
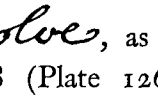
JUNIUS. 

6.12 6.12 6.4 5·3

FRANCIS.

124.13 124.5 124.13 124.5

Of the letters *p*, three only out of twenty-four are in the curled form, thus: .

The letter *r*, in the word "rest," thus:  , on the 2nd page, line 5, Plate 6, is almost an identical counterpart of the letter *r* in the word "resolve," thus:  , as written on the 1st page of Francis's Letter of 12th March, 1768 (Plate 126, line 13). What renders the comparison more striking, is the fact that this fanciful formation occurs in a few only of Francis's Letters and in as few of the writings of Junius—a single instance only in each of the two Letters referred to.

The general style of the writing of Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville accords very nearly with that of his first private Letter to Woodfall (Plate 23), irrespective of the specific forms of particular letters.

Caprices in the Disguises of Junius's Letters to Woodfall.

LXVII. After the third incautiously written Letter to Mr. Grenville, his Letter to Woodfall, No. 1, is more guarded. He goes back to the long *s* when writing "Sir," and re-assumes his signature *C*. His next Letter to Woodfall, No. 2, for some reason, exhibits renewed caution in the disguise of the writing. He diminishes its size and strength, and uses a small letter instead of a capital for beginning a sentence, and enlarges the loops of some of the letters. It does not, however, appear to me to be so well disguised as his first Letter to

Lord Chatham, or his first Letter to Mr. Grenville. In his subsequent Letters, he on four occasions only wrote "Sir" with a properly formed capital letter, viz. in his Letter signed "Vindex," Plate 15, and in three Letters to Woodfall, Plates 33, 37, and 49. On all other occasions he had invariable recourse to the long *s*, thus: .

In the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville Papers,' at page cxci, the author remarks on the Junian handwriting that—"It probably became more or less "laboured as the writer was influenced by the fear of discovery, and a wish to "render the disguise the more effectual. Although it had always essentially the "same character, yet it was sometimes partially changed in a very remarkable "manner, as may be seen in the specimens engraved in Woodfall's edition of "the Letters.[1] Compare, for instance, those numbered 6 and 10. The general "appearance is very different, but, upon closer examination the identity will "be at once acknowledged. So also the Nos. 2 and 3 are equally unlike to "Nos. 8 and 27, and yet it is impossible to doubt that they proceeded from the "same pen."

In respect of the contrast which those specimens exhibit, Mr. W. J. Smith evidently refers to the general character of the writing, and not to points of detail as to varied formations of letters, &c. Here I must again observe that Lady Temple's writing is extremely monotonous in its general character. On the other hand, Francis's writing, as I have already shown, exhibits as much variety in its general character as any specimens of the Junian writing (see Plates 132, 177, and 187, and Examples 1, 4, and 5, taken from 'Junius Identified,' Plates 185 and 186).

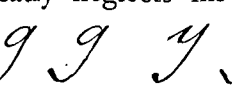
I have no doubt whatever of the soundness of Mr. W. J. Smith's observations, and attribute the transparency of the disguise of Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville, as compared with his first Letter, to no other cause than a relaxation of "fear of discovery;" and the resumption of a more careful disguise, so obvious in his Letter to Woodfall, No. 2, to some cause which rendered renewed efforts necessary. It is evident from his writing that he did not always exercise the same caution, and that on some occasions he was much influenced by the "fear of discovery;" for in his Letter to Woodfall, No. 41, he writes:—

[1] Three vols. 8vo. 1812; and second edition, 1814.

"I must be more cautious than ever. I am sure I sh^{d} not survive a Discovery "three days."

Nevertheless, I find in the Junian Letters written after the Letter to Woodfall, No. 2 (dated by Woodfall, May 5th, 1769), as in that Letter, occasional falling off and considerable caprice in their disguises.

With regard to the style of the writing, Junius's third Letter to Woodfall maintains the diminutiveness of that of his Letter No. 2; but when writing his fourth and fifth Letters, he fairly loses that restraint upon his hand, and it again assumes its natural strength and size. In his sixth Letter, he continually changes both the size and style of his writing. In his seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth Letters, he again resumes a size and style more in accordance with that of his natural hand. In his subsequent Letters, he strives to keep down the size of the writing with various degrees of success, making complete failures in his Letters Nos. 21, 27, and 29.

With regard to the formations of his letters, on some of the pages of his writing Junius dwells on a particular form of disguise to the neglect of other forms. Thus, in his Letter to Woodfall, No. 2, wherein he favours the letter *h* with an extravagant loop, he greatly neglects his original notion of disguising the letters *g* and *y*, thus:  . No instance occurs in that Letter of a small letter *g* so disguised; and five only of the letters *y* out of ten are disguised in that manner.

Again, in his Letter to Woodfall, No. 3, in which he also favours the letter *h* with an immoderate loop, not one of four letters *g*, and four only out of eleven of the letters *y*, are disguised in the usual manner. The others disclose Francis's habitual mode of forming those letters. Five letters *y* are formed with a loop, thus: ; and two, if not three, with a straight tail, thus: ; and the letters *g* are all looped, thus: ; and so in all instances where the usual disguise is laid aside, that which takes its place corresponds with the natural hand of Francis.

In both of Junius's Letters to Woodfall, Nos. 18 and 19, the disguised form of the letter *y*, thus: , is again in favour, whilst that of the letter *g*, thus: ,

is almost entirely neglected, one letter *g* only being formed in that manner in the two Letters. All others are formed with a loop, thus: ; and although there is a great display of loops in the letters *h*, in both Letters, many of which are extravagantly large, not one occurs in the word "shall," three times written in the Letter No. 18, and once in the Letter No. 19; or in the word "sh.d" twice written in the latter. All the letters *h* in those words, I must remind the reader, are in the straight form, according to the inveterate practice of Francis, as already pointed out (see page 12), and not a single word is favoured with a looped termination so conspicuous in Junius to Woodfall, Letter No. 58.

In Junius's private Letter to Woodfall, No. 58, consisting of only eleven lines of writing, nine words have a distinctive termination, thus: —a device which he never once adopted before he addressed his thirty-fourth Letter to Woodfall, although he repeated it in many of his subsequent Letters; but here, again, as in his Letters Nos. 2, 3, and 18, wherein the largely looped letter *h* is conspicuous, the diguised letter *g*, thus: , is entirely absent; whilst the disguise of the letter *y*, thus: , is neglected once only in seven instances.

These irregularities relate chiefly to two out of the four cardinal modes of disguising the Junian hand, referred to at page 107, viz. those of the letters *g* and *y*, with tails terminating in dots, and an extravagantly formed loop to the letter *h*. I might remark individually on other Letters to Woodfall in a similar manner in respect of those disguises, but that I may not be unnecessarily prolix, I will confine my observations on this subject to the irregularity with which Junius observed the first of those cardinal disguises, viz. the letter *p* in the curled or italic form, and which will illustrate how useless was that or any other form of disguise if it was not uniformly maintained.

Junius in all those of his early manuscripts which he took pains to disguise was mindful to introduce the particular form of the letter *p* specified above; nevertheless, that letter did not occupy his attention so much as the letters *g* and *y*.

In his Essay, eighty-two letters *p* out of 129 are in the disguised form.

In his first Letter to Mr. Grenville, twelve letters *p* out of twenty-four are in that form.

In his sixth Letter to Woodfall, nine letters *p* out of fourteen are in the disguised form.

In those three documents, altogether there are 103 letters *p* out of 167 written in the disguised manner, but in all the rest of Junius's put together, there are only sixty-seven disguised letters out of 945 instances of that letter.

Not one of his twenty-six Letters to Woodfall written after the 5th November, 1771, contains a single instance. After that date, he appears to have almost lost sight of that once favourite mode of disguise. Even his Letter to Lord Barrington, which, doubtless, he took pains to disguise, contains no instance; neither does his second Letter to Lord Chatham. His Letter to Woodfall, No. 2, is the only Letter in which he is consistent in the adoption of his disguised form of the letter *p;* it, however, contains only two words in which that letter occurs.

The point in all of the preceding observations is that in all instances where Junius has neglected his usual mode of disguising the three letters *g*, *y*, *h*, and *p*, the habitual formations of those letters by Francis take place.

The "circumstances" under which the Junian Letters were written, "the degree of care used" in writing them, and the amount of "influence which the fear of discovery" exercised on the handwriting of Junius, may very fairly be estimated by the degree of attention which has been given to the diguise of the two letters *g* and *y*, viz. by excluding straight tails from the letters *y*, and looped tails from both letters, these being the characteristics of those letters in Francis's natural hand.

Judging by this standard, I consider anxious attention has been given to the disguise of the handwriting of Junius's first Letter to Lord Chatham, his first Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plates 1 and 2), and the Essay enclosed with that Letter (Plates 7–12).

Junius's Essay sent to Mr. Grenville.

LXVIII. In Junius's Essay, consisting of 127 lines of writing, I find—

Only one letter *g* with a looped tail, thus: , viz. in the word "discouraged," Plate 8, line 15.

Only one letter *y* distinctly looped, thus: , viz. in the word "by," Plate 11, line 14.

Another, imperfectly looped, in the word "may," Plate 8, line 5, caused by its junction to the word following it.

Two only with a straight tail, thus: , viz. in the words "money" and "probably," Plate 9, lines 13 and 15.

With the exception of a partial mindfulness to the letter *p*, Junius's attention to the handwriting of that document appears to have been almost entirely confined to the disguise of the two letters *g* and *y*.

Those five departures from the uniform disguises of those letters distinctly betray the habitual mode of forming them by Francis; so also the two exceptions to Junius's habitual mode of disguising the letter *j*, as in the word "objections," Plate 7, line 16, disclose Francis's formation of that letter, thus: . (see the words "just," Plate 8, line 6, and "judicious," Plate 10, line 4). But there are numerous other indications of his hand in that document of far greater importance. All the distinctive peculiarities of Francis's hand enumerated at pages 101 and 102 may be therein repeatedly identified. I find in that document the words "*manner*" and "*more*" with angularly formed letters *m* in both words, and the letter *r* with its shoulder to the right in the word "manner," and with an indefinite shoulder to the right in the word "more." Also the word *which*, with the letter *h* docked of its final up-stroke, likewise the word *last*, with the letter *a* lifted by the letter *l*, are all written precisely as Francis wrote those words, disregarding the difference of slope, as in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.

7.5 11.18 11.19

FRANCIS.

107.11 107.11 107.19

JUNIUS.

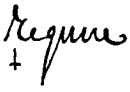
11.1 10.16 8.9

FRANCIS.

105.7 126.5 131.1

Likewise his peculiar formation of double *f*, already commented upon, in the word "*different*," Plate 8, line 4 (see Example 2, Plate H), and that of the

letter *f* when written singly, also the full development of the letter *r* in the words "*relief*" and "*require*," commencing the 5th and 6th lines of Plate 9. In Francis's Letter of 5th : Dec^r : 1767. written little more than a month before the Essay, the letters *r*, in the words "relief," Plate 113, line 11, and "respect," Plate 114, line 3, are, as nearly as possible, identical with those in the words "relief" and "require" in the Essay, as shown in the subjoined facsimiles :—

	JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.
9.5		113.11	
9.6		114.3	

JUNIUS'S DEDICATION TO THE ENGLISH NATION AND PREFACE.

LXIX. In strong contrast to the Essay, and again judging by the same standard, the Dedication to the English Nation and Preface, in the British Museum, together consisting of fifteen folio pages closely written, evince almost a total disregard of disguise in points of detail. I can discover very little beyond the deviation of slope. Instead of having all except one of the letters *g* disguised, there is scarcely more than one that is disguised in the true Junian style like those in the Essay; all others belong to Francis's handwriting.

Little more can be said of the letter *y*. The Junian disguise is almost lost amongst the far more numerous other formations of that letter, which also belong to Francis. Two instances only occur in the last twenty-one lines; they are equally scarce throughout that document.

The great inequality in the disguise of those two documents, viz. the Essay and the Dedication and Preface, is most certainly to be attributed to circumstances. Possibly Junius expected the Dedication and Preface, intended only as copy for the printer, would be returned to him by Woodfall (in whom he had confidence), when he could destroy it, as he probably had destroyed the MS. copy of all his other public Letters.[1] But he knew the case was different with respect to the Essay, which, whilst it existed, might discover him at any moment.

[1] In Junius's private Letter to Woodfall, No. 45, the following passage occurs :—"When you "send the above men^d proof sheets, return my own copy with them."

Thus it appears that Junius's first Letter to Lord Chatham, of 2nd January, 1768 (the earliest specimen of his handwriting extant), is the most carefully disguised of all the Junian Letters, and, next to that, his first Letter to Mr. Grenville and the Essay which accompanied it.

All three appear to me to be good specimens of the Junian hand; but, in confirmation of a remark which I have made at the outset of my Report, on the difficulty of sustaining a "consistent and complete disguise throughout a document of moderate length," those documents fail in their disguise in proportion to their length, and in such proportion the natural handwriting of Francis becomes more or less apparent. All, however, equally betray certain subtle points of identity, wherein no disguise has been thought of, which convince my mind even more strongly than less obscure points of observation.

I look upon Junius's Essay sent to Mr. Grenville (Plates 7–12), and his Letters sent to Lord Chatham (Plates 13 and 14), also his Letters to Lord Barrington (Plates 15 and 16), and to Garrick (Plate 64), as fair types of the Junian hand; and upon Francis's Letter No. 1 (Plates 105–108) as a fair specimen of his hand. Both Junius and Francis, as has already been observed, made considerable departures from the general style of the writing of those Letters. On several such occasions these departures by both coincide with each other in a remarkable manner, not only in respect of one particular mode of departure, but of many. Plate Y exhibits several instances of these coincidences.

Now, setting aside all comparisons of minute points connected with the formations of letters, which by some are so imperfectly appreciated, and looking at the general character only of the writing, upon which others lay so much stress, if the first eight of the examples from Junius, on Plate Y, be compared together, it will be found somewhat embarrassing to realise the fact that all have been written by the same hand. The same perplexity presents itself upon a comparison, each with the others, of the first eight of the examples on that plate taken from Francis's hand. But if the first of those examples taken from Junius be compared with the first example taken from Francis, and the second example from Junius be compared with the second example from Francis, and in like manner the six examples from each hand which follow those two be consecutively compared—the comparisons will then assume a far less doubtful aspect.

Dissimilarities in a qualified degree might easily be found between the two handwritings under discussion. Francis, like other anonymous writers who

disguise their hands, as I have already observed, intended his feigned hand to be all dissimilar from his natural hand. I find no dissimilarity of such a character as to be incompatible with that hand, in the same way that I do in respect of Lady Temple's and Lord Sackville's writing. Take, as an instance, the numerals alone, as found in their handwritings, and compare them with those in the Junian hand.

The similarities in the two handwritings are so numerous that to point them all out would be an endless task. I have set forth all those which have appeared to me to be the most striking, together with many others of minor importance. I have a suspicion, however, that there are yet important points of identity, unobserved by me, to be discovered by others having keener powers of observation than I possess. I am, nevertheless, satisfied that those to which I have directed attention are sufficiently numerous and cogent to satisfy any reasonable and unprejudiced mind of the identity of the two hands, being well aware that, were they fourfold as strong as they are, they would still be regarded by many with mistrust.

In the same way that there are those who, having no ear for tune, cannot determine when one musical sound is in unison with another, so there are others who, having no eye for form, are unable to perceive when one written character is essentially identical with another. Many of such, therefore, affect a contempt for "comparison" as a means of identifying handwritings, and consequently despise what is called "expert evidence."

It happens, however, sometimes, that there are other means of identifying handwriting besides those which involve comparisons of specific forms, and they enable those who are deficient in occular perception to arrive at a correct judgment, provided they will only listen to certain facts accurately stated.

The present case is unusually prolific of such evidence.

The Datings and Openings of Letters by Junius and by Francis.

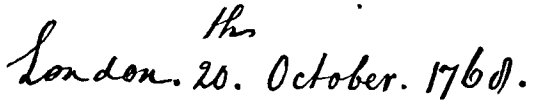
LXX. I will now direct attention to certain other facts connected with the Junian Letters, which involve no judgment or even knowledge of handwriting, so far as regards its constructive form; nevertheless, they are connected therewith in such a manner as to afford the means whereby an independent judgment may be formed as to the identity of the writer.

The two Letters to Lord Chatham (Plates 13 and 14), and the three Letters to Mr. Grenville (Plates 1, 3, and 5), are the only Letters extant, in the Junian

handwriting, which have formal dates noting both place and time. They extend over a period of four years. With the exception of the omission of a stop after the name of the month in the dating of Junius's first Letter to Lord Chatham, and in his first Letter to Mr. Grenville, all of those five datings of Junius contain the following nine points, viz.:—

1. The placing the note of place and time at the top of the Letter, and not at the foot or close of it.
2. The writing the whole in one line only.
3. The writing the name of place.
4. Placing the day of the month before the month, and not after it.
5. Placing a stop after the name of place.
6. Placing a stop after the day of the month.
7. Placing a stop after the name of the month.
8. Placing a stop after the figures of the year.
9. Writing at full length such a month as "January," "February," or "October."

The following facsimile, taken from Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville, illustrates the nine points:—



Forty out of the forty-four datings of Francis's Letters contain all the first eight points.

The four remaining are deficient only of a single point, which is never repeated, thus:—

The Letter dated "War Office 12th Sept.r 1767." (Plate 109) is deficient of a stop after the name of place.

The Letter dated "War Office: 5 April. 1769." (Plate 195) has no stop after the day of the month.

The Letter dated "Margate. 1st July – 1770." (Plate 207) has a dash instead of a stop after "July;" and

The Letter dated "War Office: 1st May. 1771" (Plate 171) has no stop after the figures of the year.

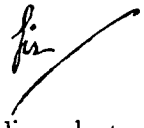
So also Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 1) and his first Letter to

Lord Chatham (Plate 13) are deficient of a single point only, viz. in each a stop after the name of the month.

The first four points or conditions are present in the datings of all the five Letters by Junius and in all those of the forty-four Letters by Francis.

With regard to the ninth point, twenty-eight of the datings of Francis's forty-four Letters have the month written in full. Of these, three are dated in January[1] (all that were written in that month); one is dated in February, and another in October. These are months having three or four syllables, as in the five Junian Letters; others are dated in April, July, and August; all of which, being written in full, comply with the fifth point.

Furthermore, Junius habitually placed a fullstop after the salutation of the correspondent, thus: "Sir." "My Lord." He has done so in four out of the five Letters already referred to. In the fifth, the salutation is not given, as the passage is an extract from the close of a Letter.

In his letters to "Vindex" and to Lord Barrington (Plates 15 and 21), and in eleven out of nineteen of his private Letters to Woodfall, all that are extant, besides the four already mentioned, having a salutation, there is the habitual full-stop after the salutation. In the eight remaining there is a line in place of a fullstop, thus:  ; and in two of the latter there is in each a fullstop in addition to the line; but under no circumstances has Junius placed a stop or other character of less value than a fullstop after the salutation of the correspondent.

Francis also had precisely the same habit of placing a fullstop after the salutation. He has omitted it on one occasion only in all his forty-four Letters, viz. when writing to his brother-in-law, in his Letter dated 16th March, 1770 (Plate 206).

As in the case of the salutation so also in those of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth points, Junius has in no instance employed a comma, so commonly used by other writers, but always either a fullstop or a colon; the colon occasionally, and only after an abbreviation of the numeral of the month, thus: "2^{d}:" "14th:". In this one particular neither Junius nor Francis were uniform, but they varied in like proportion.

[1] The month "January" is quoted twice in Francis's Letters, viz.: Plate 153, line 8, and Plate 167, line 2. In both instances it is written in full, and the month "February" is quoted in his Letter, Plate 154, line 2, also written in full.

Where, however, there is no abbreviation after the numeral of the month, then in no single instance has either of them subjoined other than a fullstop, thus: "6. February." "5. July."

An examination of the circumstances under which the colon was used will show how nearly the practice of Francis coincided with that of Junius in that particular.

In Junius's two Letters to Lord Chatham, a colon appears after the abbreviated numeral of the month, thus:—

London. 2d: January 1768. *See* Plate 13

London. 14th: January. 1772. „ 14

In two others, viz. his second and third Letters to Mr. Grenville, there is a fullstop after the abbreviated numeral of the month, thus:—

London. 3d. September. 1768. *See* Plate 3

London. 20th. October . 1768. „ 5

So that in the four instances where the numeral of the month has an abbreviation (*th*) (*d*), the colon and fullstop are in equal proportions, viz. two of each. And in his first Letter to Mr. Grenville, wherein there is no abbreviation after the numeral of the month, there is a fullstop, thus:—

London. 6. February 1768. *See* Plate 1

In like manner, the only three of Francis's forty-four Letters which have no abbreviation after the numeral of the month have each of them a fullstop subjoined (see Plates 140, 143, and 206). Of the forty others which have an abbreviation after the numeral of the month, a fullstop or colon is subjoined in nearly equal proportions, viz. seventeen have a colon and twenty-three have a fullstop subjoined; and in perfect consistency with these proportions, of the sixteen datings wherein Francis has abbreviated the name of the month, seven of those abbreviations have a colon and nine have a fullstop subjoined.

Francis has, however, in three instances placed a colon after the name of place "London." These departures from his usual habit I look upon as inadvertencies which admit of explanation. When he dated from the War Office, he no doubt, for some specific reason which influenced his mind, habitually, and, as I believe,

intentionally, made a distinction from his datings from London or other like place, the locality of which (unlike that of the War Office) could not be changed, by subjoining a colon, instead of a fullstop, thus: "War Office:".

When dating from the War Office, he has subjoined a colon in nine instances out of thirteen (in one instance the stop is omitted). But when dating from London or other like places, he has employed a fullstop twenty-two times in twenty-five instances, the remaining three having a colon, as already observed.

He has, therefore, inadvertently on three occasions, when dating from the War Office, and on three occasions when dating from London, interchanged the two separate modes of punctuation which he had imposed upon himself when dating from those places.

A little careful penetration, however, somewhat accounts for these six inadvertencies, and discovers that there are no substantial inconsistencies in the punctuation of Francis's datings.

In all three of the datings from London, and in two of those from the War Office, the name of the month is abbreviated (in the third from the "War Office" the month "June" could not be abbreviated). These abbreviations clearly indicate that Francis was not on those occasions writing deliberately, but in a somewhat heedless manner, with his attention abstracted from the unimportant matter of punctuation.

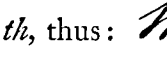
It can hardly be doubted that Junius wrote his two Letters to Lord Chatham and the three to Mr. Grenville with carefulness and deliberation. The months consisting of not less than three or four syllables are written in full in every one of them. They are all dated from London. In each there is a fullstop after the name of place.

In like manner, when dating from London or other like place, and when at the same time writing with sufficient care and deliberation to write the name of the month in full, Francis has in every such instance placed a fullstop after the name of place. The datings of all his Letters so written, no less than eighteen in number, assimilate with those of Junius's five Letters in every one of the particulars to which special reference has been made. Of that number, eight have a colon and seven have a fullstop after an abbreviated numeral of the month, agreeing with Junius's two Letters to Lord Chatham and his second and third to Mr. Grenville, and three unabbreviated numerals of the month have a fullstop, as in Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville. All of the nine points are present in every one of those eighteen datings.

The following Table contains a copy of every dating by Francis, wherein the name of the month is written in full and the name of place is London or other like locality, analogous to the five datings by Junius:—

JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.		Plate
London. 2d:	January 1768.	London. 2d:	August. 1769.	144
London. 14th:	January. 1772.	London. 4th:	August. 1767.	105
		Aire . 6th:	August. 1767.	119
		Brussells. 11th:	August. 1767.	121
		London. 16th:	April . 1768.	131
		London. 4th:	October. 1769.	147
		London. 12th:	June . 1770.	157
		London. 6th:	March . 1771.	167
London. 3d.	September. 1768.	London. 3d.	May . 1769.	179
London. 20th.	October . 1768.	London. 12th.	March. 1768.	126
		London. 14th.	May . 1768.	208
		London. 13th.	August. 1768.	210
		London. 13th.	January. 1770.	149
		London. 4th.	April . 1770.	154
		Margate. 1st:	July - 1770.	207
London. 6.	February 1768.	London. 5.	July . 1769.	140
		Ingress . 30.	July . 1769.	143
		London. 16.	March. 1770.	206

This analysis demonstrates that, when the "circumstances" under which Junius and Francis wrote, were equal, then the results were equal, as nearly as possible. There being no example extant wherein Junius has dated from the "War" or other office or like locality, there is no evidence to show how he would have punctuated his datings on such occasions.

LXXI. There is yet another point connected with the datings of Junius which I cannot omit to notice. The abbreviation (*th*) in the two instances where it occurs in his datings is in each written immediately over the figures denoting the day of the month, and not in the more usual way following them; but where the abbreviation is a single letter only (*d*), Junius has in the two instances where such an abbreviation occurs departed from this habit and written it in the usual manner—that is, the abbreviation (*d*) follows the numeral of the month. Francis's Letters exhibit these peculiarities so abundantly as to show a confirmed habit. His Letters of 13th January, 1770, and 3rd May, 1769 (Plates 149 and 179), afford an example of each abbreviation. In the preceding Table, in which the positions of the *th* and *d* are correctly represented, there are no departures from this habit in Francis's datings, where *th* is followed by a fullstop, and two only where followed by a colon, both of which were, no doubt, influenced by the long figure 6. The characteristic termination of the *th*, thus:  , in the dating of Junius's Letter, Plate 5, is also very exactly represented in the dating of Francis's Letter, Plate 149; see also Plates 151, 154, 157, 160, 162, and 164. This is a matter of comparative form which I have found more convenient to introduce here.

The preceding, like some other points to which attention has been directed, may appear futile and insignificant. Their importance will become apparent upon an impartial consideration of the following facts, viz.:—

Not one of the twenty-five writers whose Letters appear in the Letter Book, or of eight other writers, of whose datings facsimiles are given in the 'Chatham Correspondence' and in Woodfall's 'Junius;' or of the writers of above 600 Letters in the 'Grenville Papers;' or of upwards of 300 other writers of a century past, of almost every grade of society, whose Letters in the British Museum I have examined (over 1500 in number)—exhibits a single example of a dating containing all the points to which I have referred. No one more conspicuously deviates than Lady Temple. The datings of Francis alone contain all the nine points, and other specialities which distinguish in so remarkable a manner the datings of Junius, as illustrated in Plate Z.

It should be borne in mind that the identity of Francis's datings with those of Junius does not rest merely on a solitary dating, haply found, out of a number, to correspond with some one or other of Junius's datings, but that all the five datings of Junius are found to correspond in every particular, with more than

three times their number of Francis's datings, with which they agree in no less than nine points, most of them of uncommon occurrence; and, further, that not one of Francis's forty-four datings differs from those of Junius in any essential particular. All are so uniform and methodical as almost to prove that Francis had made it a special point to follow a set model which he had deliberately considered and determined upon; and so tenacious was he of his own views of the proper mode of dating a Letter, that, on one occasion, he appears to have marked his opposition to a style which was at variance with his own. Thus, Tilghman, in his Letter to Francis, April 3^{d} 1772– has written the date at the close of his Letter (see Plate 248). The name of place and the name of the month are abbreviated therein, and the numeral of the month is written after the name of the month. Francis has reversed this order of things by rewriting the date at the top of the Letter (Plate 245). "Philadelphia" and "April" are written in full, the numeral of the month precedes the month, and the entire dating corresponds in every particular with those of Junius's Letters to Lord Chatham (see Plates 13 and 14).

Junius displayed equal pertinacity when he altered Woodfall's mode of dating two of his Letters on the Proof Sheets of vol. i. which did not accord with his own. The dates of the first and second Letters are printed at the foot of those Letters. In each the numeral of the month is placed after the name of the month, and a comma (so shunned alike by Junius and Francis in all their datings) is put after the numeral of the month. Junius has reversed all this by striking out the printed dates and rewriting them at the heads of the Letters. Where thus rewritten, the numerals of the months and the names of the months change places, and fullstops take the places of commas (see Plate 91).[1]

The datings of the Letters on the Proof Sheets of the 2nd volume remain unaltered, as Woodfall printed them. They were evidently overlooked by Junius when he returned those Proof Sheets; nevertheless, either from direction given by him, or from Woodfall's attention having been directed to the determined manner in which his mode of dating had been altered on the Proof Sheets of the 1st volume, the 2nd volume appeared with the datings of all the Letters, except one, printed according to the method of Junius.

Again, Francis was so particular in respect of the presence of a date to a document that in every Letter in the Letter Book, which has been addressed to him undated, he has supplied a date written in his accustomed style

[1] The commencement of the second Letter has not been photo-lithographed.

at the top of the Letter. And so Junius, equally methodical, perceiving in the Proof Sheets of the 1st volume of his Letters that Woodfall had omitted the dates to seven of those Letters, Nos. 8, 9, 15, 16, 17, 19, and 22 (see Plates 92–98), supplied the omissions by writing a date at the head of each in the same hand, and, no doubt, at the same time, as the dates transposed in the first and second Letters; and in all probability his mind was so intent upon a determination to have every one of them printed in his own particular way that for the moment he forgot he was Junius and inserted them in his *bonâ fide* handwriting. With still greater determination he has endeavoured to efface them, but in his confusion he left one untouched, that of 29th July, 1769 (Plate 95), no less a genuine specimen of the natural hand of the writer of the Junian Letters than those which he thought he had effectually concealed.

The Natural Handwriting of Francis on the Proof Sheets of Junius.

LXXII. This is by no means an unimportant point in the present enquiry. The observations, however, which I am about to make upon it cannot be fully realised except by an inspection of the original Proof Sheets of the Letters of Junius in the British Museum, No. 27,776. It will then require more than ordinary powers of vision to investigate, and will need the aid of a glass of moderate power, as well as some degree of experience and skill in its use. It is necessary also that the paper examined be presented to the eye at a proper angle and under a suitable light.

To those accustomed to investigations of this nature, an examination of certain obliterations, eleven in number, which occur on those Proof Sheets, will disclose the following facts (see vol. i. pages 1, 44, 49, 81, 104, 115, 124, 139, and 142, and vol. ii. pages 40 and 113; seven of these pages are photo-lithographed on Plates 91–94 and 96–98).

In eight instances the obliterations conceal precisely the same words and figures as those which now stand in their places and are made to appear as corrections of the obliterated writing. In neither of the other three is there any substantial correction. In one instance, on page 44, *rafton* (effaced) is not rewritten, and *uke* is added in the Junian hand (see Proof Sheets, Plate 92). In another instance, on page 115, "Bedford," erased, is rewritten in full, "Duke of Bedford" (see Proof Sheets, Plate 97); and on page 104, all that was needed was to prefix the day of the month, which was wanting (see Proof Sheets, Plate 96).

On page 44 the only alteration has been in the writing of "March" with *M* thus: , instead of . (See Proof Sheets, Plate 92, also pages 71 and 72).

The real object of these obliterations is revealed upon a recognition of what appears to me to be undoubtedly the undisguised hand of Francis, written by him inadvertently in an absent moment, and afterwards observed and obliterated. All the obliterated writing is clearly that of one and the same person, and most certainly not in the assumed hand of Junius. If it were in a feigned hand by any person, there would have been no reason to efface it.

Every instance, when penetrated, discovers the natural hand of Sir Philip Francis without a moment's hesitation, to those who are acquainted with his writing. No comparison of details is necessary. When, however, that test is applied, it will be found that the slope of the writing agrees with that of Francis; the tails of the letters *g* are all looped, those of the letter *y* either looped or made quite straight, like those of his figures 7 and 9, but somewhat short, the pressure of the pen increasing as it reaches the bottom of the letter, exactly corresponding with those particulars in Francis's writing, and strongly indicating his particular touch. In no instance is there the favourite termination, with a dot to tailed letters, thus: , all prevailing in the Essay sent to Mr. Grenville; and immediately resorted to when re-writing "January," after the first obliteration (Plate 91); and again, when writing "July" after the fourth obliteration (Plate 94).

The figure 9 also, re-written (Plate 91), is terminated in the same way, but in the other instances the more usual manner of lengthening the tails of the figures is adhered to.

Those who are unable to penetrate the veil which obscures the writing in these instances may very fairly be sceptical as to its similarity to Francis's writing, and may even doubt the assertion that no substantial correction has been made—an assertion the truth of which I insist upon, not only because I know it can never be successfully refuted, but because I feel confident that others will hereafter confirm me in all that I herein state in reference to it.

With regard to the latter of these points of doubt, there are only two instances of the eleven which require much effort to realise the correctness of my observation, viz. those on the 49th and 104th pages (Plates 93 and 96). Of the others, four are readily discernible, viz.: "security," on page 113, vol. i. of the Proof Sheets in the British Museum, No. 27,776; "Bedford," page 124; "his," on page 142; and "glorious," on page 40, vol. ii.; as in the following facsimiles:—

And with regard to the former point of doubt, they may form a very fair opinion from an instance which has eluded Francis's observation, and over which no veil having been drawn, is clearly apparent to unassisted vision. It is the date written on page 88 of the Proof Sheets.

. This date is in precisely the same hand as the obliterated writing, and bears the closest comparison with two dates written by Francis in the very same month and year; see Plates 95, 140, and 143, also the subjoined facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.

In the first of those dates by Francis, the figure 6 has the little leading upstroke already pointed out as a peculiarity of Francis's writing (see page 83).

In each of those three dates, the figures of the month precede the name of the month, and there is a fullstop after the numeral of the month, after the name of the month, and after the date of the year, agreeing in all these points with the obliterated dates, as also with those rewritten, and with all other similar dates which occur on the Proof Sheets of the Junian Letters, in strict conformity with Francis's invariable habit; and it so happens that in all the three dates under comparison the usual abbreviation *th* is omitted, contrary to the more common practice of annexing an abbreviation by both Junius and Francis.

To assist in concealing these inadvertencies, and perhaps for the purpose of misleading those who might seek to lay them bare, Francis has previously to making the broad marks of defacement tampered with the writing, by the introduction of superfluous letters or portions of them—a practice often resorted to when obliterations are made in wills, but which generally fails in effecting its object, as in the present case.

Thus in the first obliterated date (Plate 91), tails have been added to the capital *J* (first written as a letter *I*), and to the figures 2 and 6. A dot has been placed over the first letter *a* in "January," and the second letter *a* has been altered into a letter *t*, thus: .

The word "January" occurs five times in Francis, written with a letter *I* instead

of a *J*, and in four instances with a straight tail to the letter *y*, on precisely the same plan as the obliterated date (see Plates 123, 149, and 170; also Plates 153, line 8, and 167, line 2).

Of the other obliterations on the Proof Sheets, all have been tampered with in a similar manner, except three, viz. those on pages 124, 139, and 140. The details of every one of them might be shown; the example already given may, however, suffice.

The same Paper used by Junius and by Francis.

LXXIII. Finally, I have to direct attention to a matter which, although one of comparison, has little to do with handwriting. It is, nevertheless, so far connected therewith that not unfrequently it contributes important corroborative evidence as to the identity of the writer. It is in respect of the paper upon which the writing of one of the Letters under examination is written, as compared with that known to have been used by the suspected writer.

I have examined in every way most minutely the quality of the paper, both as regards colour, texture, and thickness, of Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville, of the 6th February, 1768, and I find it perfectly agrees in each of those particulars with the last sheet of Francis's Letter, written little more than two months previously, viz. on 5th December, 1767. The two sheets of paper on which those Letters are written also agree in the following particulars:—

The device of the water-mark is the same.
The initials of the maker are the same; and
The water-lines, which are not quite parallel, are the same width apart, showing that the paper has been made in the same frame or mould.

And, further, I find the two sheets of paper are so exactly of the same size and shape, both having been cut slightly out of truth, whereby the top edge of the paper is not mathematically parallel with the bottom edge, that I cannot doubt they have been taken from one and the same quire of paper. And, furthermore, I find that the colour of the ink with which those two Letters have been written is the same in both. Where the ink lies thinly, the writing is pale and somewhat brown; whereas where the writing has been written with a full pen, it is quite black.

Thus I have shown in matters of detail, in the several component parts of the writing, in matters of style connected therewith, and in matters of material, there

is in each abundance of evidence to justify me in the opinion I have formed, and to demonstrate that the Junian Letters have emanated from no other hand than that of Sir Philip Francis.

General Summary of the Principal Points of Agreement between the Handwritings of Junius and Francis.

LXXIV. In the preceding pages two distinct classes of evidence have been put forward to identify the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis with that of Junius. One class relates to the formations of letters, and to peculiarities connected therewith; the other relates to habits of writing which do not necessarily depend on such formations and peculiarities.

The Formation of Letters.

In addition to the letters which are referred to, in enumerating, in page 101, the dominant characteristics of Francis's natural handwriting, the following are the most prominent of the other letters in the formations of which Junius and Francis coincide, viz.:—

1. The letter *d:* various formations at the ends of words (pages 33–38).
2. Single and double *f:* several different formations (pages 23–31, and Plates H and I).
3. The letter *g:* a distinctive formation at the ends of words (Plates J and L).
4. The letter *k:* two formations (pages 41–44).
5. The letter *r:* several different formations (pages 14–22, and Plates A to G).
6. The letter *s:* several different formations (pages 61–65).
7. The letter *t:* three formations (page 32).
8. The letter *y:* various formations in the words "you" and "yours" (pages 69 and 70, and Plates R and S).
9. Capital letters (Plates U, V, and W).

In connection with the letters *d*, *h*, *r*, *s*, and *t*, Junius and Francis both agree in habitually excluding from the beginnings of words a particular form of the letter *d*, which they constantly used in the middles and at the ends of words, and they closely agree in the circumstances under which they made exceptions to that habit (see pages 33–35); also—

In excluding from words beginning with *sh* a particular form of the letter *h*, which they constantly employed under other circumstances (pages 11 and 12).

In adopting certain formations only of the letter *r* under certain defined circumstances (pages 17–22).

In habitually disjoining the letter *s* from all letters following it, except the letter *e* (pages 61 and 62).

In adopting particular formations of the letter *t* under certain defined circumstances (pages 32 and 33).

There is also a close agreement between Junius and Francis in their manner of forming numerals or figures (pages 82 and 83).

INSTANCES OF HABITS COMMON TO JUNIUS AND FRANCIS WHICH ARE NOT NECESSARILY DEPENDENT ON THEIR MODE OF FORMING LETTERS.

1. The mode of dating Letters (pages 121–129).
2. The placing a fullstop after the salutation (page 123).
3. The mode of signing initials between two dashes (page 81).
4. Writing in paragraphs (page 82).
5. Separating paragraphs by dashes placed between them at their commencement (page 82).
6. Invariable attention to punctuation (page 78).
7. The enlargement of the first letters of words (page 70, and Plate T).
8. The insertion of omitted letters in the line of writing, and not above it, and the various modes of correcting miswriting (pages 83–85, and Plate O).
9. Mode of abbreviating words, and abbreviating the same words (pages 74–78).
10. Misspelling certain specified words (pages 86–90).

Of these several points of agreement in habits between the handwritings of Junius and Francis, two points which require, but will repay, special study, are—first, the coincidences respecting the various formations of the letter *r*, and the distinct uses to which the two principal divisions of such formations were devoted by both writers; and, secondly, the coincidences in the mode of dating Letters. On both points I have already made several observations of considerable length. I will now conclude my Report by some

observations separately on each of the nine subordinate points involved in the mode of dating Letters, all of which I have set forth in detail in page 122, and upon which, probably, some will think I have laid too much stress.

The first of those nine points is of very common occurrence, and is met with occasionally in everyone's Letters, but still it is not universal. The respective datings in this volume of Mr. Edmund Burke, in Plate 233; of Mr. Boyd, in Plate 234; of Mr. Gerard Hamilton, in Plate 236; of Mrs. Dayrolle, in Plate 254; of Lord Lyttelton, in Plate 255, and in his Letter beginning in Plate 258; of Mr. Ross, in Plate 232; of Mr. Delolme, in Plate 264; and of Tilghman's Letters in Plates 240, 248, and 251, are all at the close or foot of the Letter. The same is the case with the datings of Lord Camden and of Mr. William Pitt, of which facsimiles are given in the 'Chatham Correspondence.'

The second point is also of common occurrence. It is almost universally followed in the datings of bills of exchange and promissory notes, but is far from being universal in the datings of Letters. Thus in the facsimiles of the 'Chatham Correspondence,' the datings of George III., Lord Camden, and Dr. Franklin, are each in two lines respectively.

The third point is of common occurrence.

The fourth point, of placing the day of the month before the name of the month, and not after it, is adopted by several writers, but still is the least common of the alternatives. It was, however, so rigidly observed by Francis that he never departed from it in any one of his forty-four Letters. The contrary order was followed by Lady Temple, Lord George Sackville, Mr. Boyd, Lord Chatham, Mr. Pitt, Dr. Franklin, Lord Camden, whose datings may be seen either in this volume or in the 'Chatham Correspondence.' A writer who very closely resembles Francis in this respect is his brother-in-law, Mr. Mackrabie, whose general mode might by some be deemed absolutely the same; but he is distinguished from Francis by never placing a stop after the name of the place, or after the name of the month. Possibly, his nearness to Francis's mode was derived from the influence of a long acquaintance with Francis's Letters.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh points combined are of extremely rare occurrence, and they were neglected not only by Lord and Lady Temple and Lord G. Sackville, but by an overwhelming majority of all the writers of the last century whose Letters I have examined.

The eighth point is by no means uncommon, but when found in combination

with the fifth, sixth, and seventh—all equally present as an inveterate habit in the datings of Junius and Francis—it gives additional strength to those points.

The ninth point, as an invariable habit, is obviously uncommon, but its rarity cannot be scientifically proved. It does not always occur in the datings of Francis.

Such are the nine points, taken separately. Meeting in combination, they are likely to be extremely rare, and I myself have never seen them combined except in Junius and Francis. Upon comparing a paper written anonymously with the known Letters of a suspected party, such a combination in each document would carry suspicion to the highest point, and, united to a few only of other coincidences of equal importance, would, by an impartial mind, be deemed conclusive as to the reality of the suspected fact. In the present case, the notice of this combination follows a long train of very numerous coincidences, many of them of a remarkable character, of which some are of equal and others of still greater importance.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

CHARLES CHABOT.

Comparative Facsimiles

TAKEN FROM JUNIUS AND FROM FRANCIS,

BY

MR. CHARLES CHABOT,

EXPERT.

Illustrating Similarities in the Formations of Letters, Words, &c.

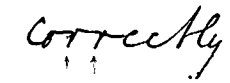
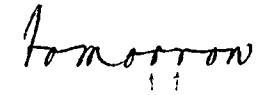
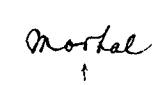
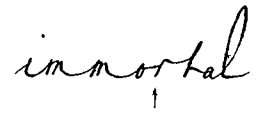
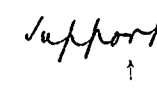
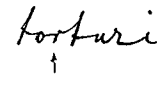
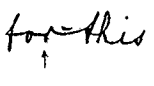
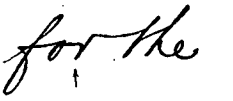
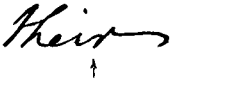
REFERRED TO IN HIS

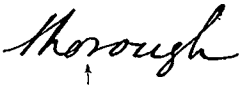
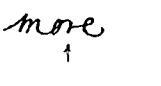
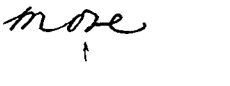
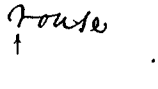
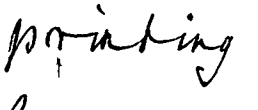
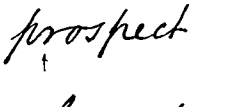
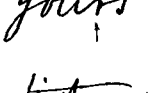
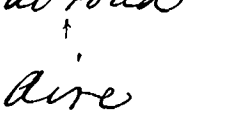
REPORT ON SIR PHILIP FRANCIS.

Plate	Referred to in the following Pages
A.	5, *15, 17, 20, 21, 93, 133.
B.	5, *15, 20, 51, 93, 133.
C.	5, *15, 20, 70, 133.
D.	5, *15, *16, 20, 70, 133.
E.	5, 15, *16, 20, 70, 133.
F.	5, *17, 96, 133.
G.	5, *18, *19, 20, 96, 133.
H.	6, *23, 26, 28, 29, 118, 133.
I.	6, *23, *24, 30, 50, 133.
J.	*44, 45, 97, 133.
K.	*47, 53, 97, 101.
L.	*48, 97, 101, 133.
M.	5, *51, 83, 101, 105.
N.	5, *51, 83, 105.
O.	5, 47, *85, 91, 97, 134.
P.	*68.
Q.	*69, 93, 98, 101.
R.	*69, *70, 92, 97, 133.
S.	*69, *70, 92, 97, 133.
T.	*70, 96, 97, 102, 134.
U.	6, *73, 133.
V.	6, 32, *73, 133.
W.	6, *73, 133.
X.	*83.
Y.	*120.
Z.	5, *127.

The chief references to the several Plates are contained in the pages marked thus (*). *In all other pages the references to the Plates are incidental.*

Comparisons of various formations of the letter *r*;

	JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.	
	29·7.		108·1	
	33·5		137·1	
	64·10		187·4	
	16·16		162·10	
No 1	38·10		138·13	
	15·10		158·10.	
	76·3.		145·9	
	75·3		159·7	
	6·15	24·6.	161·5	 144·8.

	25·8		129·10	
	11·18		107·11	
No 2.	7·19		176·9	
	33·7		113·11	
	30·6		114·3.	
	9·5.		122·7	

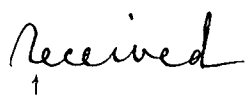
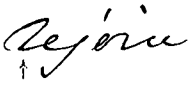
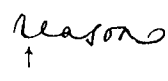
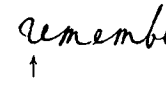
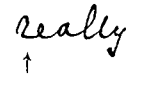
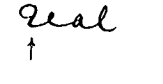
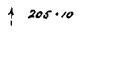
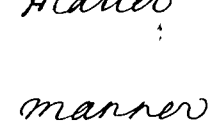
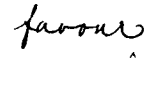
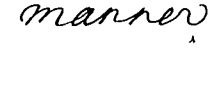
Continued on Plates B.C.D.&E.

Comparisons of the letter *r*, continued.

	JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.
	30·8 Character	141·3	other
	33·1 another	141·8	Mayor
	26·16 Newspaper	141·9	your
	28·10 never	176·2	for
	37·2 neither	172·13	their
No 3	55·12 honour	177·2	ever
	45·12 other	176·10	together
	45·4 Your	150·4	Sister
	30·5 other paper	176·16	Gloucester
	32·2 improper	108·13	other
	28·4 matter	150·5.	hour
	28 10 suffer	163·5	honour
	30·5 never	105·12.	your
No 4	55·3. either	131·3	never
	63·3. labour	131·11	honour

Continued on Plates C. D. & E.

Comparisons of the letter *r*, continued.

	JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.	
	2·7 		129·6	
	48·3		111·3	
	55·2		116·9	
	27·10		204·18	
No 5.	9·13		197·2 	
2.	74·3 		158·14	
	29·13		137·6	
	100·16 		124·18	
	36·17 	76·12.	210·7	110·9.
	32·11 	45·6.	153·13	192·10
	75·15.	76·14.	181·10	 205·10
No 6.	1·5		113·8. 	
2	86·1 		113·12 	
	73·10.		114·1	

Continued on Plates D and E.

Comparisons of the letter *r*, continued.

	JUNIUS.			FRANCIS.		
No 7	63·15	Garrick	a narrow 17·11	210·10	Harris's	a narrow 179·4
r	55·6	part		207·10	part	
	30·14	dare	integrity 69·11	191·16	thrives	Maturin 125·8
	55·9	great	rite, 43·9	173·9	great	agreeable 77·3/15
	15·17	gracious		116·5	granted	
	60·7	paragraph		126·15	agreed	
	55·12	reputation		43·2/6	resigned	
	54·13	reason		169·18	reason	
No 8	3·10	reasons	raise 55·10	133·2	reason	render
r	19·6	reasons		188·2	reason	
	53·2	ready		164·13	ready	ready 115·2
	9·5	relief		114·3	respect	
	9·6	require		144·2	requires	
	45·3	really		170·2	really	
	7·6	really reduced		164·1	really	reproach

Continued on Plate E.

Comparisons of the letter *r*, continued.

	JUNIUS.				FRANCIS.			
	32·5	rather	run 80·16.		192·7	Reason	Revoir 130·7.	
No 9 *r*	6·5	Rest	rely 58·10.		191·7	raised	refer 161·16.	
	34·8	Rewards	assure 58·14.		126·13	Resolve	I recollect 147·13.	
	34·10	Reserve	Disgrace 70·17.		192·3	return	Dragon 155·15.	
No 10 *r*	42·2	read			158·10	crushed		
	1·2	Referred			176·18	Reason		
No 11 *r*	38·6	Reason			136·8	room		
No 12 *r*	68·13	Parliaments			202·3	Parliament		
	34·13	Threaten	credit 30·9.		124·8.	Threatens	are 168·15.	
	34·9	clearly	Care 71·1		177·8	Claret	Care 152·15.	
	29·6	are	an 26·4.	are 83·5.	173·7	are	are 206·3.	are 163·3.
No 13 *r*	28·10	assured			121·5.	promise		
	18·8.	Liberty			141·8	presented		
	49·6.	property	fear 34·10		147·3.	person	near 204·6	

Comparisons of double "r" (*r r*) when joined respectively to the letters *o, a, e, & u.*

	JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.	
orr	29.7	correctly	109.1	correctly
	25.7	corrected	185.7	Correct
	47.1	tomorrow	158.18	tomorrow
	33.5.	tomorrow	137.1	tomorrow
	75.2	Correspondence	113.7.	Correspondence
	57.1	correspondence	179.3	Correspondence
arr	8.7	carry	123.11	carry
	44.9.	carried	146.4	carry
	21.6	Barrington	183.6	Barrington
err	84.2	errat	134.4.	Error
	74.1	Errata	206.4.	merry
	68.16.	Jerry	178.7.	Jerry
urr	16.9	surrender	124.6&7	Surrender
	7.17	occurred	144.13.	Occurrence
	77.7.	hurry	152.16	hurried

Comparisons of single "r" (*r*) when joined respectively to the letters *o, a* & *e*, in the words "more" "are" "were".

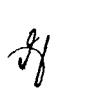
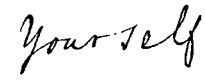
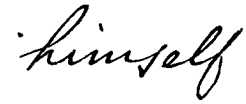
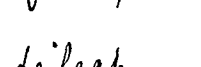
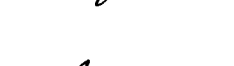
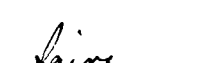
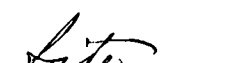
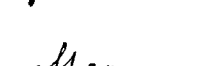
JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.		JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.	
more 5·2.	more 7·3.	more 107·2	more 107·7	more 43·12	More 59·13.	more 157·3.	more 188·9
more 6·7	more 9·19.	more 107·11	more 107·19.	more 62·5.	more 64·18.	more 159·1	more 189·5.
more 10·15.	more 11·18.	more 107·13.	more 108·1	More 80·15.	more 81·6.	more 205·2	more 206·2
more 11·8	more 11·9	more 108·3.	more 108·13.				
more 11·20	more 22·4	more 109·3	more 109·6.	are 1·1	are 3·7	are 106·4.	are 106·14.
more 22·6	more 25·15.	more 110·16	more 111·6.	are 5·4.	are 6·8.	are 109·1	are 113·5
more 26·4.	more 26·6	more 114·3	more 116·4.	are 7·5.	are 9·7	are 113·14.	are 115·8
more 28·12.	more 32·13.	more 123·2	more 135·7.	are 10·14	are 10·16.	are 115·10	are 115·14
more 4·3.	more 43·9.	more 144·10.	more 145·4.	are 11·3.	are 11·4.	are 117·7.	are 121·4
more 63·16	more 14·14.	more 145·14.	more 153·14.		are 83·4		are 206·3.
more 64·8	more 64·14.	more 153·16	more 156·2.		are 83·5.		are 191·11.
more 66·12.	more 66·23.	more 161·1	more 171·1		are 29·6.		are 168·15.
more 67·4.	more 68·12.	more 172·14.	more 172·15.		are 29·11.		are 176·7.
more 68·13.	more 60·22	more 178·5.	more 179·12		are 88·8.		are 153·16.
more 69·2	more 75·11.	more 185·1	more 191·1	were 3·5.	were 7·13	were 106·17.	were 107·12
more 83·3.	more 83·5.	more 192·8.	more 196·4.	were 8·8.	were 8·8	were 113·2.	were 113·12.
more 100·3	more 111·4	more 130·7	more 200·3.	were 9·8.	were 9·9.	were 114·4.	were 119·3.
more 102	more 58·15.	more 201·2	more 203·13.	were 11·1	were 11·17.	were 126·4	were 123·13.

Comparisons of various formations of the letter *f*.

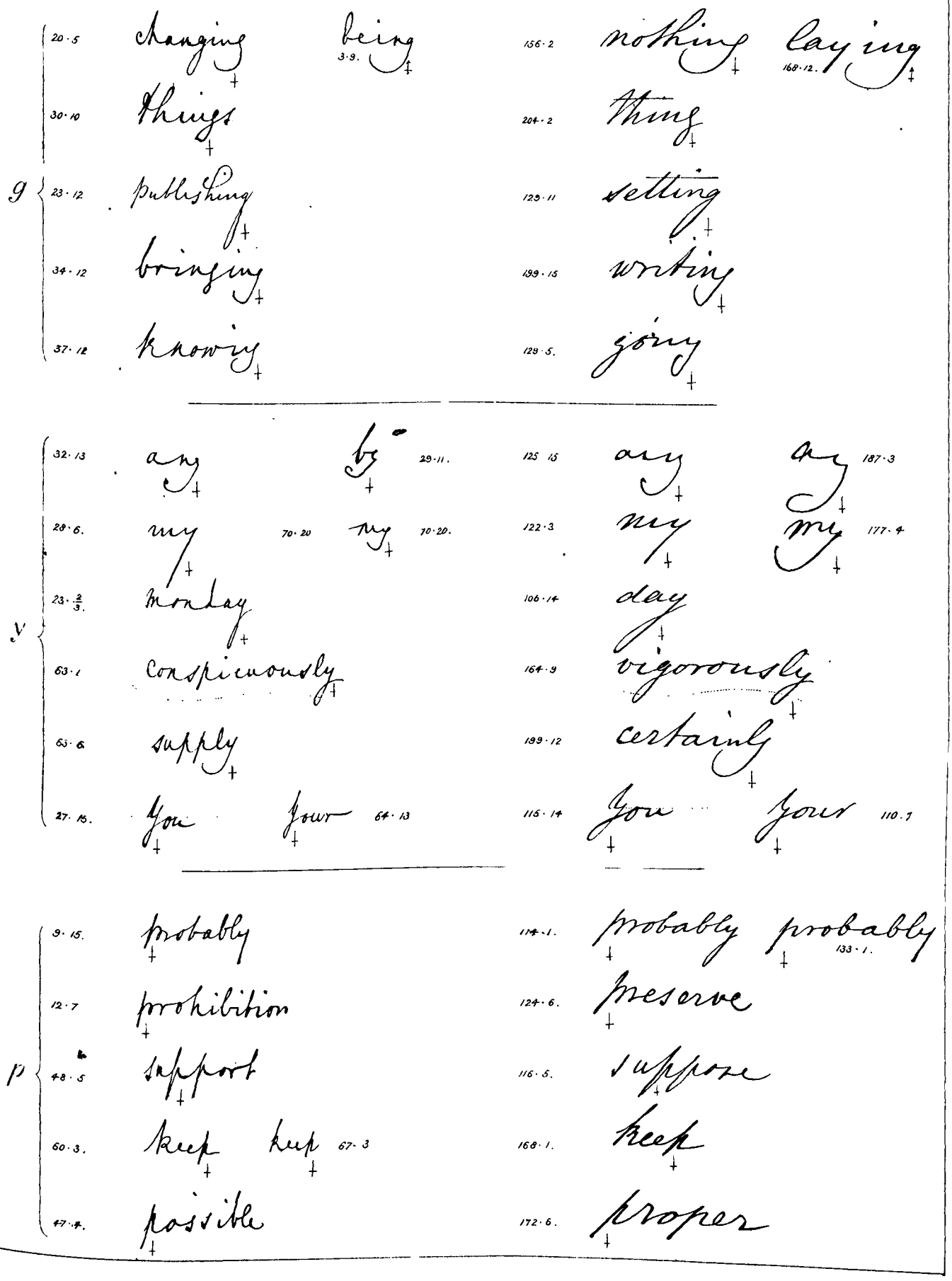
		JUNIUS		FRANCIS.
№1	10·5.	suffering	164·1	suffering
	9·9.	office	169·1	Offence
	18·2.	indifference	206·1	offered
№2	8·4.	different	153·2	suffered
	8·5.	indifferently	209·7	indifferent
№3	2·2.	sufficient	211·8	sufficient
№4	29·4	of	198·7	dear
	26·8	furnish	146·9	confidence
	26·11	fool	163·7	farewell
	70·4	of	123·8	of
№5	45·7	If 59.1 of	151·5.	If 161 6 of
	3·8.	himself	149·7	himself
	59·8.	myself	154·5	myself
	45·10.	yourself;	158·8	himself
	73·17.	proofs	172·4	itself

Continued on Plate. I.

Comparisons of various formations of the letter *f*. continued.

	JUNIUS.			FRANCIS.	
No 6	70·8		78·1	177·4	
No 7	10·13		30·9	111·4	110·2
	32·13			123·10	
No 8	30·2			125·1	
	2·1			107·1	
	10·13			136·9	
	6·10			158·14	
No 9	18·7			210·5	
	18·4		10·8	167·10	198·2
	14·10		39·3	179·6	136·7.
No 10.	9·15			136·8	
	9·14			114·2	
	30·1			200·7	
	12·2			203·5	
	10·4.			136·8	

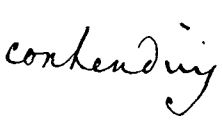
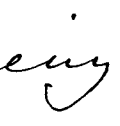
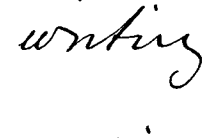
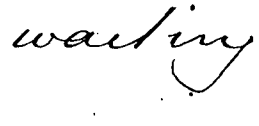
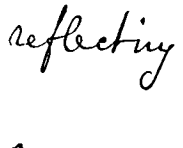
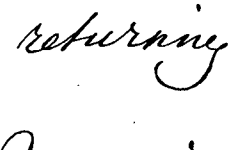
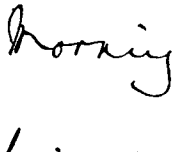
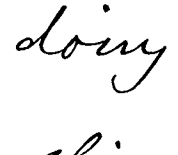
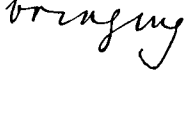
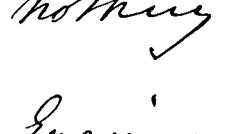
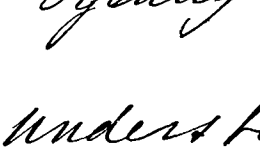
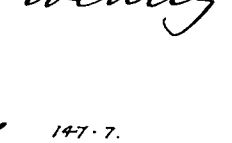
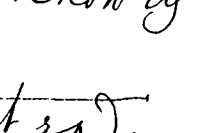
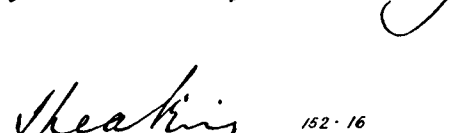
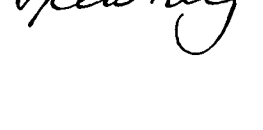
Comparisons of various formations of the letters *g*, *y*, & *p*.



Diminution of size, and change of slope of the letters *n* & *m*, in the words "*in*" & "*him*".

JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.
Threaten him privately 34·13	hate him heartily 175·17.
to ask him, whether 26·13	see him, has 127·15
it defends him more 43·12	set him on fire 116·12
giving him the 25·3	keep him warm 124·16
confided in him. 28·13	meet him in 127·12
place them in so 1·7	intimate in that house 161·11
no man in this 1·6	tism in his left 145·11
are, in point 15·1	pistol in the air 128·8
sarcasm in the papers 32·6	hero in every 178·3
taxed in various	fortunate in waiting 176·6
perish in their 9·17	land in the universe 160·10
tomorrow in your own 49·11	wrong in that quarter 210·11
at night in the London 49·12	set in his place 149·10
of C in the usual place 37·8	not be in the same 198·7
example in point 15·16	Bath in the course 116·3

Imperfect formation of the letter *n*, merging it into the letter *g*, in words ending in "*ing*."

JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.			
	30. 14		176. 13		209. 11
	30. 3		176. 5		135. 6
	30. 11		192. 4.		187. 3
	28. 12		187. 6.		176. 6
	70. 18		124. 6		129. 5
	6. 12		167. 12		116. 3
	70. 19		161. 17		149. 13
	34. 12		175. 11		188. 12
	23. 4		192. 4		152. 11
	37. 7.		147. 7.		
	10. 7		152. 16		125. 16

Various modes of terminating words.

	JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.	
1	which 2·4.	in 1·6	which 124·11	in 119·9.
	him 26·13.	him 25·3.	him 116·12	him 127·15.
	pension 68·16	misrepresentation 68·9.	pension 178·1	combination 115·11
	with 32·16	with 6·13	with 145·14.	with 140·13
2	up 30·8	send 37·7.	up 119·10	from 181·1
	such 10·3.	obliged 29·4	which 165·8	fatigued. 121·2
	your 44·10	bear 54·14	your 124·15	hear 204·7
	you 45·4	you 71·15	you 125·7	you 171·3
	the 30·10	no man 83·13	the 153·11	a man 132·7
	the same place; 52·3		than a prime 202·7	
3	much 23·2/4	send 26·4.	such 196·8	offended 43·2/5.
	a 16·14	a 30·7	a 202·6	a 138·15
	have 45·3	the 69·11	are 140·12	the 144·9.
	can 80·11	am 46·1	can 203·13	am 210·6
	you 6·13	of 3·2	you 151·6.	of 193·14
	or 24·6	hereafter. 6·15.	"Sir, 141·8	answer. 179·2

Continued on Plate N.

Various modes of terminating words, continued.

JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.	
usual 65·4	sell 73·7	shall 115·3	shall 210·9
Mankind 18·7	and 6·14	Sword 109·5	could 165·13
finished 59·8	Island 54·10	Seconded 163·1	add 116·14
however 14·2	Your 74·3	answer 144·4	never 113·9
paper 1·1	order 73·10	manner 113·12	Matter 113·8
appear 1·5	power 18·4	sooner 114·1	honour 179·5
Nature 34·5	me 51·6	bice 134·8	have 203·14
The 80·7 be 80·4	believe 80·1	able 123·3	house 204·8
before 81·1 see 81·4	the 81·7	See 146·5 loe 125·5	humble 145·10

Junction of Words

10·18.	to take for it,	139·12	been much the Subject
10·12.	or if it should	139·5.	the satisfaction of all
70·17	Disgrace of mansfield	139·8	Duke of Bedford
37·2	can neither	139·15.	done neither
11·3.	it is 38·1 do not	114·13	it is do not 157·2

Mode of inserting an omitted letter.

	JUNIUS.			FRANCIS.	
	Sorit	28 · 9.	149 · 8.	proceedings	
	divide	8 · 9	124 · 13	something	
	spoiled	70 · 9	164 · 7	continue	
	Whitworth	28 · 13.	203 · 2.	afraid	
	received,	36 · 3.	135 · 9	faithfull	
Confidence. 72 1	oblige	25 · 3.	164 · 4.	Examination	
	receive	56 · 30/1	147 · 6.	astonished	
	hit	32 · 13.	155 · 16.	Patriotic	
	disadvantageous	55 · 11	196 · 15	nothing	thing
	Paternoster	56 · 4	138 · 8.	Nothing	
	proof	72 · 16	138 · 2	mine	
	Country	67 · 5	128 · 12	writes	
people	wish	28 · 10	209 · 7	permitted	
	annext	40 · 3	128 · 11	are	
	wish	27 · 7.	158 · 11	republishing	
	shameful	80 · 10	168 · 17	Tittle	
questions	friends	100 · 16	159 · 8	Ticket	
	informed	54 · 9	122 · 3	sweet	
	Motto	81 · 3	144 · 11	suspect	
	correct	72 · 16	150 · 1	quit	

Formation of the capital and small letter a, (*A a*)

JUNIUS.

9·13 Auctions — a new (75·13.)

11·17 Ancestors — am (16·1)

76·10 army

66·12 americanus

66·11 answers

77·6 author's

16·13 abundance

34·4 As

14·4 ambition

29·12 Authour

27·14 And

74·6. announce

FRANCIS.

134·14 an Acres (77·3/4.)

139·6 America all. (207·9.)

165·4 America

176·7 America

133·6 Answer

105·13 America

133·10 appearance

113·1 As

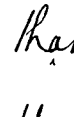
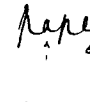
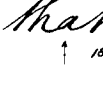
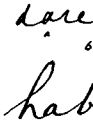
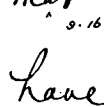
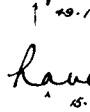
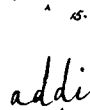
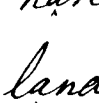
190·11 Alderman

160·12 Another

124·16 Authony's

167·9. Anxiety

Examples of the letter *l* &c. lifted from the line of writing by the letter preceding it.

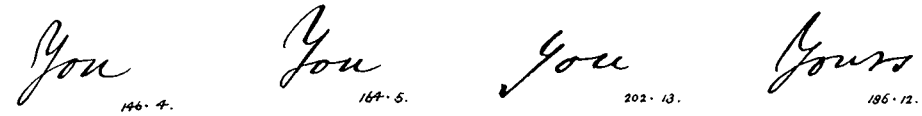
JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.	JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.
8·6	168·10	49·4	212·8
32·9	164·5.	7·3	161·14.
8·9.	160·14.	10·10	138·3.
86·1	119·6	30·14	186·9.
28·4.	212·8	16·11	109·7
1·11	119·6	64·3.	177·5
 12·3	147·9.	 65·2	172·5.
100·10	 186·10.	 64·5.	207·8
1·9.	133·13	5·12	144·4.
28·5	115·6	 9·16.	123·13
28·9.	113·6.	15·2	172·14.
2·6	169·5.	 49·1	129·4.
63·5.	108·4.	 15·6	110·11
8·13.	 113·9	8·13.	186·7.
8·12.	113·9.	9·13.	212·6.
8·14.	127·6.	11·5	196·15.

Comparisons of the words *"you", "yours",* &c.

1

Junius.

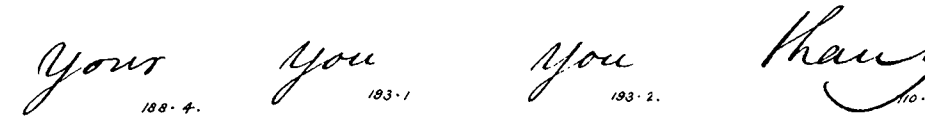
Francis.



2

Junius.

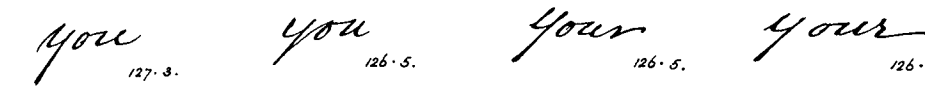
Francis.



3

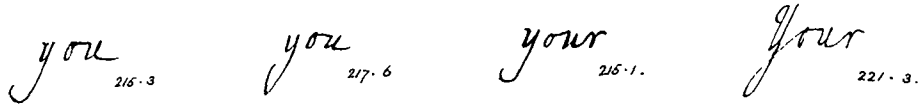
Junius.

Francis.



4

Lady Temple



Lord G. Sackville

Continued on Plate S.

Comparisons of the words "*you*", "*yours*", &c. continued.

5 Junius.

Francis.

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6 Junius.

Francis.

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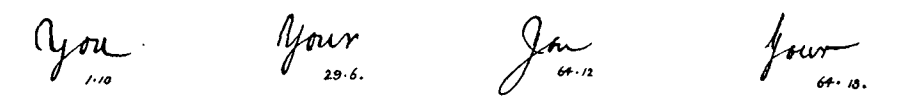
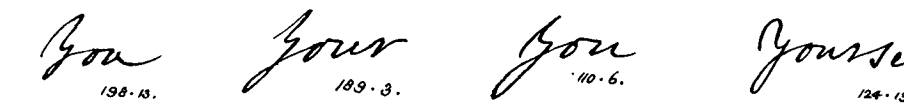
7 Junius. 

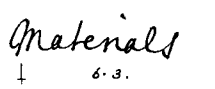
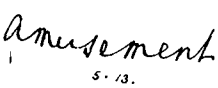
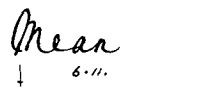
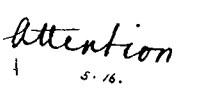
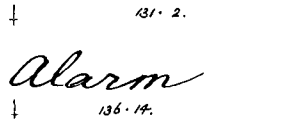
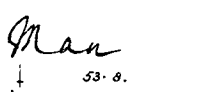
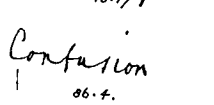
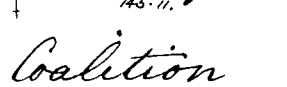
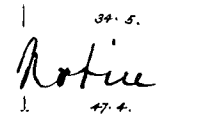
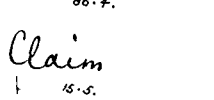
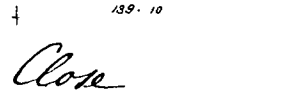
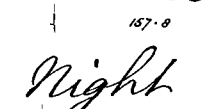
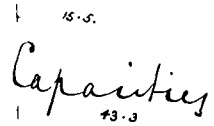
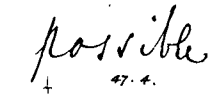
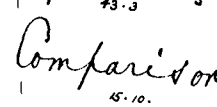
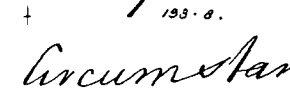
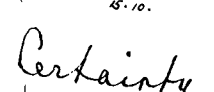
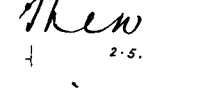
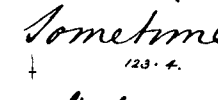
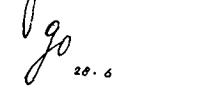
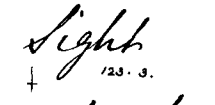
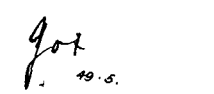
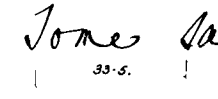
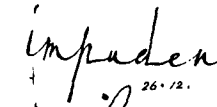
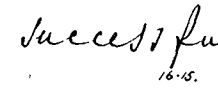
Francis.

---

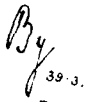
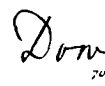
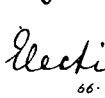
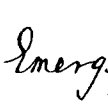
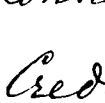
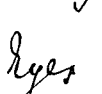
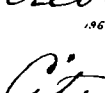
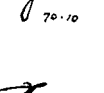
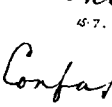
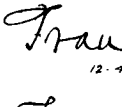
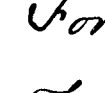
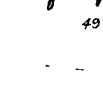
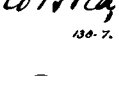
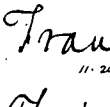
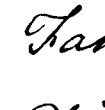
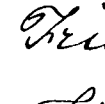
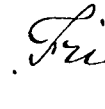
8 Junius.

Francis. 

Examples of words commencing with an enlarged letter.

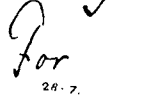
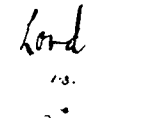
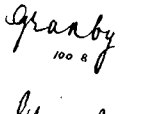
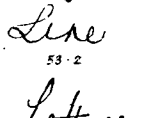
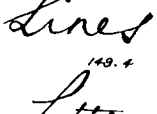
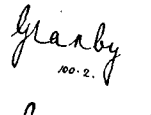
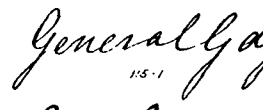
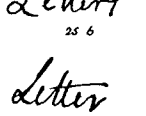
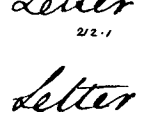
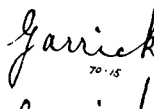
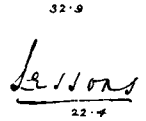
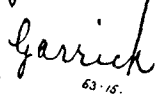
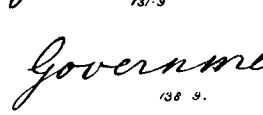
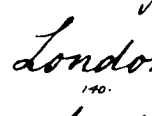
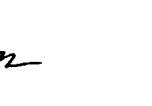
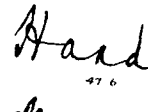
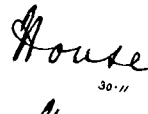
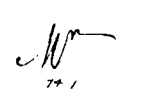
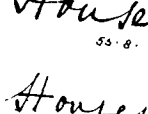
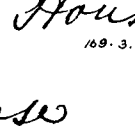
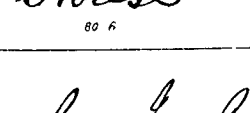
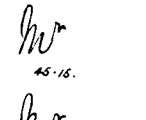
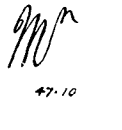
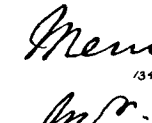
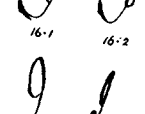
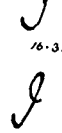
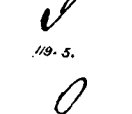
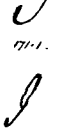
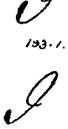
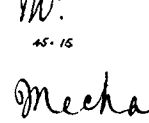
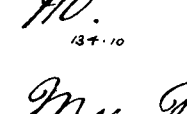
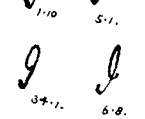
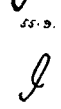
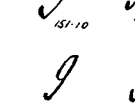
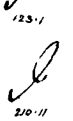
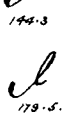
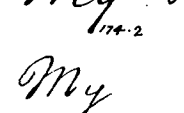
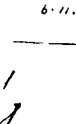
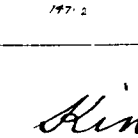
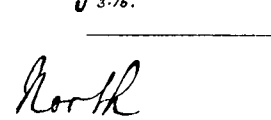
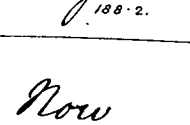
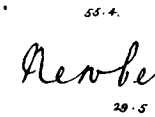
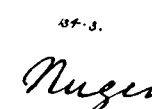
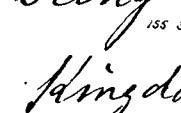
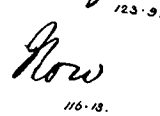
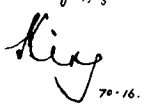
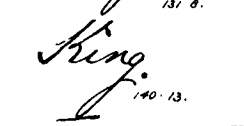
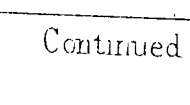
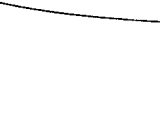
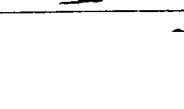
JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.	JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.
Attachment 5.12.	appearance 136.3.	 Materials 6.3.	Materials 123.4.
 Amusement 5.13.	amusement: 131.2.	 Mean 6.11.	Means 181.9.
 Attention 5.16.	 Alarm 136.14.	 Man 53.8.	Man 158.10.
Contempt 16.17	Contempt 145.11.	Nature 34.5.	Nature 195.11
 Confusion 86.4.	 Coalition 139.10	 Notice 47.4.	Notice 157.8
 Claim 15.5.	 Close 139.9	Night 27.15.	 Night 123.8
 Capacities 43.3	Correspondence 193.8.	 possible 47.4.	Punctua.... 105.13.
 Comparison 15.10.	 Circumstance 113.10	pretensions 15.9	perfectly 132.4.
 Certainty 58.6	Chitchat 115.6	part 15.9	presented 139.17
guilty 15.9	guilty 167.6.	 Shew 2.5.	 Sometimes 123.4.
 go 28.6	go 183.11	Signal 65.5.	 Sight 123.3.
 got 49.5.	got Ground 199.6 203.9	Secret 65.6	Stark 210.10
Innumerable 26.6.	infallibly 146.4.	 Some 33.5. Same 29.12.	Some Same 210.10 114.14.
 Impudence 26.12.	impossible 153.13.	 successfully 16.15.	Sarroom.... 204.8
inclosed 28.11	instant 155.8	You Suspect 29.11	the Subject 139.12.

Comparisons of Capital letters

JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.	JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.
3.2 15.7.	184.14 167.6	30.2.	207.2
 39.3.	127.11.	 70.18	133.12
29.5.	212.14.	80.11	169.10.
100.18.	180.4.	11.4.	151.2.
73 3	69.3	0.1	160.9.
87.6	196 3.	11.9.	212.11
1.6	124.4.	20.7	160.16
2.3	25.8	81.7	115.13.
67.5	114.13.	11.11	167.3
2.4.	114.19	 66.2.	129.13.
53.6.	195.10	 9.2.	157.9
44.8.	 196.7	 70.10	106.6
15.7.	 140.13.	 12.4	165.6.
 49.14.	130.7.	 11.20	 139.10
 33.2	 139.8	 16.16.	 167.11
69.9.	145 2	49.8.	 196.5.
69.8.	205.1	52.5.	 212.3.

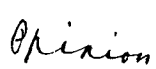
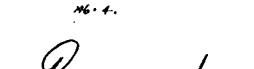
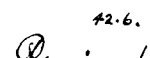
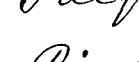
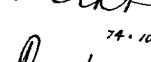
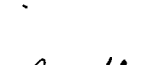
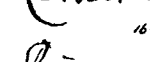
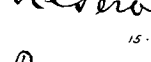
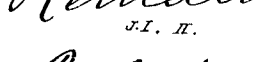
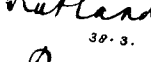
Continued on Plates V. & W.

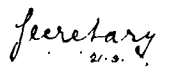
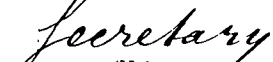
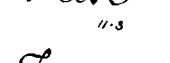
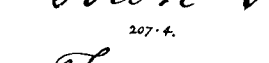
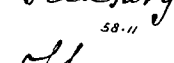
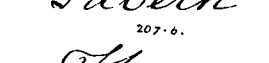
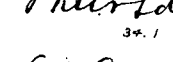
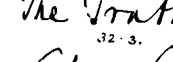
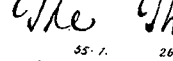
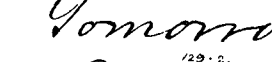
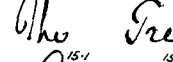
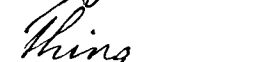
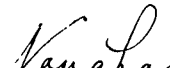
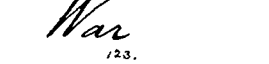
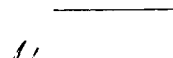
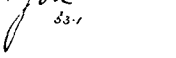
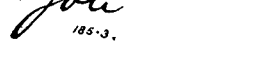
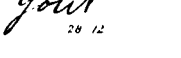
Comparisons of Capital letters continued.

JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.	JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.
Grafton 27.4.	Jackson 172.12.	Letter 29.2	Letter 209.8
 For 28.7.	Fire 24 14	Lord 100.16	Letter 158.12.
		 Lord 1.3.	Lord 180.4
 Granby 100 8	God 191.15.	 Line 53.2	 Lines 149.4
 Granby 100.2.	 General Gage's 155.1	 Letters 25 6	 Letter 212.1
 Garrick 70.15	Gentleman 131.9	 Letter 32.9	Letter 211.9 Letter 211.11
 Garrick 63.15.	 Government 138 9.	Lessons 22.4 Lord 55 3	 Liberty 105.11  Letter 105.6
 Hard 47 6	However 105.6.	London 49.10	London 140.
 Houses 30.11	House 91.6.	 Litchfield 62.7	Leghorn. 141.5.
 Houses 55.8.	He House 195.5  169.3.		
Houses 44.n	 House 80 6	 Mr 74.1  Mr 74.10	 Mr 136.2. Mr 154.9
 I 16.1 I 16.2  I 16.3.	 I 119.5.  I 171.1.  I 193.1.	 Mr 45.16. Mr 47.10	 Member 134.10 My 190.2
 I 1.10 I 5.1.  I 55.9.	 I 151.10  I 123.1  I 144.3	Mr. 45.15	 Mr. 134.10
I 34.1. I 6.8.  I 6.11.	 I 147.2 I 210.11 I 179.5.	 Mechanicks 9.12.	 My 174.2 Mean 188.9.
		 May 3.16.	 My 188.2.
King's 35.12.	 King 155 3.	North 55.4.	 Now 134.3.
 Kings 17 5	 Kingdom 131 6.	Newberry's 28.5	 Nugent 123.9.
 King 70.16.	 King. 140.13.	Nation 54.11	Now 116.13.

Continued on Plate W

Comparisons of Capital letters continued.

JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.
70.4	203.7
30.1	207.3
 48.8.	159.2.
11.17.	174.8.
88.16	205.4.
82.14	47. 4/5.
87.6	146.4.
42.6.	 125.9
 74.10.	 205.7.
 84.3.	176.15.
 16.2.	179.9.
16.11	206.10
 15.15	J.I. II.
 16.12.	 126.6.
38.3.	140.4.
 55.7.	139.1.

JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.
 21.3.	 125.9.
26.1	161.18.
5.5.	194.14
 11.3 2.4	 207.4. 191.9.
 58.11	 207.6.
 34.1	191.12.
 32.3.	211 1
 55.1. 26 11	 129.2.
 15.1 15.5.	168.18.
34.5.	 114.4.
15.3	160.10
 39.8	175.16
28.1	 123.
 53.1	185.3.
 28 12	 147.2.
 27.13.	130.13.

Comparisons of Figures.

	JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.	Pl
The Figure 6.	6. February 1768. Pl. 1	5. July. 1769.	140
	* 26. January. 1769.	12. Sept: 1767.	109
	* 26. August	2. Nov. 1769.	212
	* 14 Sept. 1771 69.	3d May. 1769.	179
The Figure 7.	* 12. Dec. 1769.	5 April. 1769.	195
	* 13. November. 1770.	1. July 1770.	207
	* 6. february. 1771.	10. Feb: 1770.	205
The Figure 8.	20. October. 1768. Pl 5.	13. August. 1768.	210
		10. Sept: 1768.	188
The Figure 9.	* 27. of November 1769	1. March: 1769.	193
	* 21. February. 1769.	6: Sept: 1769.	198
	* 25. February 1769.	4: Nov: 1769.	200

These marked thus * are taken from the proof sheets in the British Museum, and have not been Photo Lithographed

Phrases in different styles of writing taken promiscously.

	JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.	
6·3	Materials or instruction.	Materials as well as	123·4.
28·9	in sort of money	in immense sum	132·7.
29·15	Care to the male	can be had	153·16.
28·1	to morrow for tuesday	more correctly	108·1
34·12	I am sure I can	I am to spend	129·3
34·13	threaten him	never see him	127·15.
9·19	be more advantageous	was intended to	179·15
18·7	& basest of Mankind	something relative	124·14
2·6	that you will never	will be civil to you	125·10
1·5.	shall appear to have any	shall never relishary	125·15.
2·5	you will not only not	as to publick News,	125·7
2·4.	I presume to make	I spent ten days	125·14.

Mode of dating Letters and of punctuating the dates.

From Junius's two Letters to Lord Chatham.

Pl. 13. London. 2d: January 1768.

14. London. 14th: January. 1772.

From Junius's three Letters to Mr. Grenville.

1. London. 6. February 1768.

3. London. 3d September. 1768.

3. London. 26th October. 1768.

From five Letters written by Francis.

144. London. 2d August. 1769.

147. London. 16th: April. 1768.

140. London. 5. July. 1769.

139. London. 3d. May. 1769.

149. London. 13th. January. 1770.

REPORT OF MR. CHABOT

ON

LADY TEMPLE, LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE,

& OTHERS.

25, Southampton Row, Russell Square,
August 13, 1869.[1]

THE HON. EDWARD TWISLETON.

SIR,—Having submitted to you a Report of my opinion on the identification of Sir Philip Francis as the handwriter of the Letters of Junius, with the reasons upon which I have founded that opinion fully set forth, I now have the honour of submitting to you, agreeably with your instructions, a Report of my opinion on a further question relative to the handwriting of those Letters, viz. whether there is, or is not, sufficient internal evidence in the handwritings of Lady Temple and Lord George Sackville to prove or render probable the negative, *i. e.* that neither of those persons handwrote the Letters of Junius.

To enable me to form my opinion, you have directed my attention to the specimens of facsimiles of Lady Temple's handwriting in the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville Papers;' to several original Letters in her handwriting, then in the possession of the late Mr. W. J. Smith; also to a facsimile of a Letter by Lord George Sackville, published in 'Coventry on Junius'; likewise to all the 'Grenville Papers' belonging to Mr. Murray, which you have placed in my

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[1] Revised and adapted for the present publication, 21. January. 1871.

hands, and which include several original Letters written by Lord Temple, by Lady Temple, and by Lord George Sackville.

In reply to that question, after having made an examination and comparison of the several handwritings already mentioned, no less searching and exhaustive than that which I exercised in the comparison of Francis's handwriting with the assumed hand of Junius, and after applying the same tests in each case, I am of opinion that there is ample internal evidence in the handwritings of Lady Temple and Lord George Sackville to prove, or render probable, that neither of those persons wrote the Letters of Junius; and further, with regard to Lady Temple's writing, notwithstanding it exhibits a general character more nearly in resemblance to the Junian hand than does that of Lord George Sackville, I discover in it certain evidence which tends to prove that she could not have written those Letters.

In my previous Report, I have already referred to the handwriting of both those competitors for the Junian hand, and have made several comparisons and observations, tending to show the improbability of either of them having written the Junian Letters. In setting forth further evidence in detail, as you have desired, in regard to that question, I shall make reference to the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis in the same way as I have, in that Report, referred to the handwritings of Lady Temple, of Lord Sackville, and of others. By so doing, the point and pertinency of the observations and comparisons made in each case will become more apparent.

Upon an examination of the two handwritings in question, I am unable to find in either of them any of the sources from which the disguises of the Junian hand could take their origin; neither do I find in them any of those disguises repeated, a consequence which could hardly have been avoided if the writers had been in the constant habit of practising the Junian hand, and which, as I have shown in my previous Report, was not avoided by Sir Philip Francis.

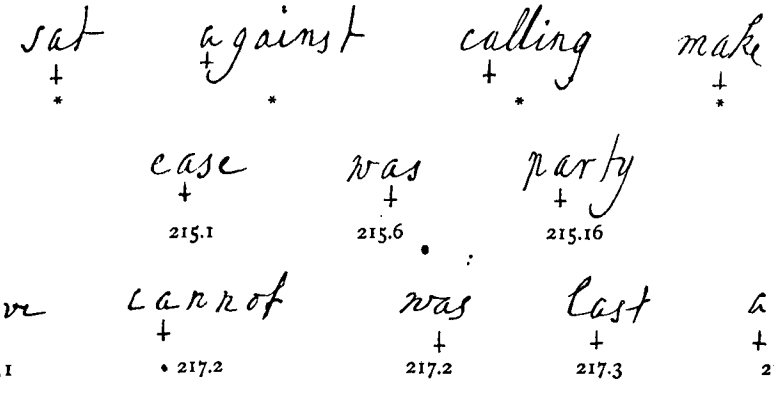
On the other hand, I find in the writing of Lady Temple, and also in that of Lord Sackville, certain peculiarities which are common, not only to both those handwritings, but to that of many other persons, and other peculiarities, more distinctive, belonging exclusively to each, none of which are to be recognised in the Junian writing; and *vice versâ*, I rarely find in either of the two handwritings in question any of those numerous features so extensively set forth in my previous Report as distinguishing characteristics of the Junian hand, independently of its disguises. The most important of these are so

obscure as to be beyond the cognisance of those who have not been trained to observe them; and they are of such a nature as to be inseparable from the assumed hand of a person who has no suspicion of their existence in his or her natural hand; unless such feigned hand be carried out in a mechanical form, by the adoption of printing or other characters, requiring much time and consideration, in which case it is often detected by other circumstances equally unsuspected. These distinctive peculiarities consist chiefly of defects or departures from a given standard, which with different persons take different directions. It is as difficult for a person to lay aside those defects (even when aware of them) in his mode of writing, when once they have become a habit, as it is to get rid of a particular defect in his gait by which he is recognised. In either case every step leads to detection.

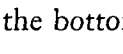
I now proceed to point out a succession of important discrepancies in the three handwritings to which reference has been made.

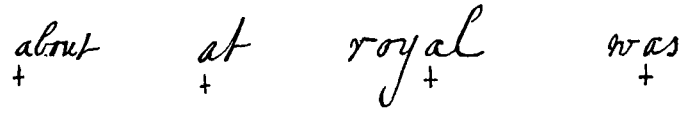
The Formation of the Small Letter *a* by Lady Temple, by Lord George Sackville, and by Junius.

I. I observe that Lady Temple habitually formed the small letter *a* in the common manner; but she commenced it at the top of the letter. This is evinced where the letter happens to be imperfectly formed; that is, taking the letter to be a compound of the letters *o* and *i:* the *o* part is then left open at the top, showing exactly where it was commenced, thus: . See the letter *a* in the following words taken from her writing:—



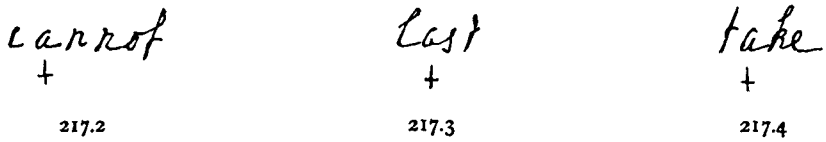
* Taken from the 'Grenville Papers,' vol. iii. Plate 6.

If Lady Temple had written the Junian Letters, this mode of forming that letter would have been frequent, as a characteristic of the writing of those Letters, instead of which a formation of an opposite character takes its place—viz. the letter commences at the bottom, thus:  .[1] It will be difficult to find in the Junian writing many instances wherein the letter has been commenced on the right side of the down-stroke, thus: , as in the following words, taken from Lady Temple's Letter to Lord Temple, written in 1769 (Plate 215):—

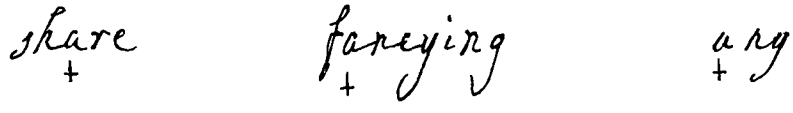


215.6 215.6 215.9 215.11

Again the openings at the tops of the letters *a* in Lady Temple's writing are often considerable, as in the following facsimiles, taken from her Letter to Lord Temple, written in 1775 (Plate 217):—



217.2 217.3 217.4

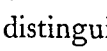


217.4 217.5 217.6

It is extremely improbable that Lady Temple could have excluded these, her habitual formations of the letter *a*, from the writing of a feigned hand as effectually as they are excluded from the Junian hand.

In each of those instances the letter *a* is a compound of the two letters *c* and *i*. Where the letter is found open at the top in the Junian writing, it is in

[1] See pages 65–68.

most instances still commenced at the bottom, and, from the looping of the *o* part of the letter, becomes a compound of the two letters *e* and *i*, thus  , distinguishing it from Lady Temple's peculiar formation, so difficult to find in the Junian hand (see the second letter *a* in the word "assistance," in Junius's private Letter to Woodfall, Plate 28, line 6; the letter *a* in the word "ambition," Plate 14, line 4, and in the word "answers," Plate 66, line 11). Similar instances of an open letter *a* are of very rare occurrence in the Junian MS.

In a few instances, however, where the letter *a* is joined to another letter preceding it, in Lady Temple's writing, a loop is formed, and the letter then, like some to be found in the writing of Lord Sackville, and also in that of other persons, has a resemblance to Junius's formation; but there is this difference, the loop is never amplified by Lady Temple, to the same extent, as it frequently is by Junius, and therefore never presents the consequences induced by an excessive enlargement, viz. a double up-stroke to the *o* part of the letter, thus: . See the letters *a* in the following words, taken from three of Junius's Letters to Woodfall, particularly those in the words "shall" and "pardon": [1]—

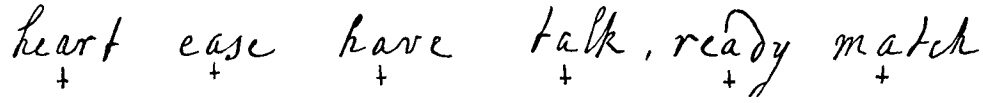
28.9

34.4 32.7 32.17

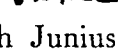
But there is a much more distinctive feature with regard to this letter in Lady Temple's writing, and it represents an infirmity which could hardly have been got rid of whilst writing in a feigned hand, even if she had been aware of it. It is the continual disjunction of the letter (*a*) from that which precedes it in a word. Upwards of twenty instances occur in a single page of her Letter written to Lord Temple in 1769 (Plate 215). In some of those instances the letter stands

[1] See also examples in page 67.

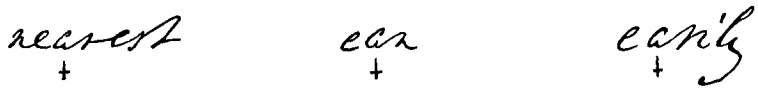
completely isolated, as shown in the following facsimiles, taken from that page:—



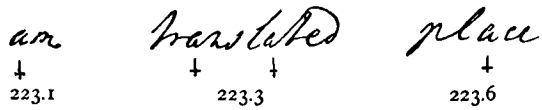
215.1 215.1 215.2 215.7 215.8 215.17

On the contrary, Junius habitually joins the letter *a* to the letter preceding it, as in his Letter to Woodfall, Plate 34, wherein there is a single instance only of its disjunction, viz. in the word "same," line 15, thus:  . In that instance the letter *a* is preceded by a letter *s*, a letter which Junius habitually disjoined from any letter following it, except the letter *e*—a singular peculiarity of his writing.[1] Instances of the letter *a* standing isolated in a word are extremely rare in the Junian writing.

Lord Sackville is still more marked and habitual in his manner of forming the letter *a* with an opening than Lady Temple; in fact, he rarely closes the letter. See the 1st page of his Letter of October 29th, 1745 (Plate 223). In many instances that letters become a combination of a distinctly formed letter *c* with a diminutive letter *i*, thus: , and when he makes the letter, as he frequently does, a compound of the letters *e* and *i*, it is still open at the top, from the imperfect manner of forming the loop; as in the following facsimiles, taken from that Letter:—



223.9 224.16 225.3



223.1 223.3 223.6

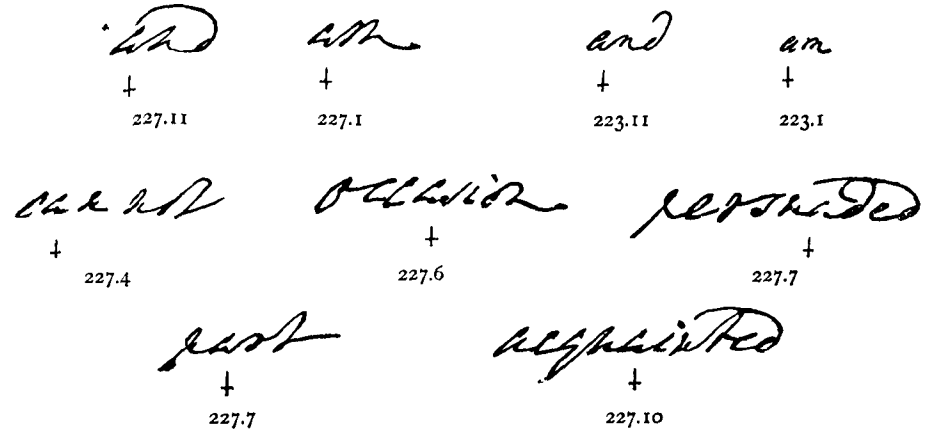
He also constantly disconnects the letter *a* from other letters in a word, as shown in the preceding examples, but not to the same extent as Lady Temple.

The points in the preceding observations are these, viz. the habitual formation of an *open* letter *a*, compounded of the letters *c* and *i* by Lady Temple and Lord G. Sackville, are of extremely rare occurrence in the Junian hand; and *vice versâ*, formations compounded of the letters *e* and *i* with the loop or eye of the *e* amplified to the same extent as in the Junian hand are extremely rare in the writing of

[1] See pages 61 and 62.

Lady Temple and of Lord G. Sackville, differences which cannot reasonably be attributed either to accident or design.

In Lord G. Sackville's Letter of July 30th, 1767 (Plate 227), there are, however, one or two instances which fairly represent the Junian letter *a*, viz. in the words "great" and "that," written on the 13th and 15th lines; but in the same Letter, his old habit of leaving the letter open, and making it a compound of the letters *c* and *i* has become more fully developed. The letters *a* in the word "and," on the 11th line, and "am," on the 15th line, have completely lost the loop which they possess where written, in the same words, on the 1st and 11th lines of his Letter of October 29th, 1745 (Plate 223). See also the letter *a* in the words "cannot," "occasion," "persuaded," "part," and "acquainted," in his Letter of July 30th, 1767 (Plate 227), as in the following facsimiles:—



That formation of the letter evidently predominates in both of his Letters, Plates 223–225, and 227, and it became so matured in his Letter written in 1767 that I should fully expect to find numerous instances of it in any writing said to be feigned by him; but the Junian writing written soon after that Letter is remarkably exempt from such a characteristic.

Discrepancies in the Formation of the Small Letters *b, f, h, k,* and *l.*

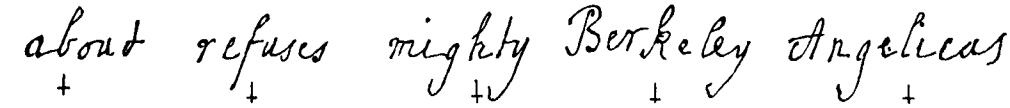
II. The habit of commencing a letter above the line of writing, instead of below it, is still more conspicuous when it takes place in the long letters; such as the letters *b, f, h, k,* and *l.*

Lady Temple habitually formed those letters with an insignificant loop,

somewhat resembling the loop of a letter *e;* the down-stroke of the letter, instead of passing through the up-stroke of the loop, thus: , merely touches it, thus: . See the following examples in her Letter to Lord Temple, written in 1769 (Plate 215):—

The letter *b* in the word "be," line 1, and "abundance," line 2.
The letter *f* in the word "foot," line 15; "refuses," line 2, and "herself," line 14.
The letter *h* in the word "high," line 5, and "she," line 10.
The letter *k* in the word "know," line 10; "Berkeley," line 13, and "clock," line 12.
The letter *l* in the word "letter," line 13; "Angelicas," line 4, and "royal," line 9.

These are only a few of the numerous instances which occur in that Letter. Similar instances occur in all others written by Lady Temple, showing a confirmed habit. In addition, in many instances, the letters in question, like the letter *a*, stand isolated, the pen having been lifted in the middle of the words. See both characteristics in the letters *b*, *f*, *h*, *k*, and *l*, in the following facsimiles:—



215.1 215.2 215.3 215.13 215.4

This mode of writing carries with it all the marks of a penman of very limited practice, and stands in strong contrast with the masterly style of the Junian writing. Writers whose hands have become incapacitated from infirmity seldom recover a vigorous style of writing.[1] It is as difficult to realise the possibility of Lady Temple's sudden improvement in her writing to the standard of the Junian Letters as it is to realise the probability that, having acquired such proficiency, her natural hand should in no way be affected by it after two or three years' constant practice. My meaning will be evident upon a comparison of her Letters written in 1769 and 1775 (Plates 215–217),

[1] See note in page 158.

which do not differ from each other in any essential particular; one of them having been written at the very time the Junian Letters were being penned, and the other after all of them had been written.

It is equally difficult to realise the probability of Lady Temple's ability to exclude so effectually from a feigned hand all traces of her long-acquired and confirmed habits of writing, as is exhibited by the Junian writing in respect of the five letters to which I have directed attention.

Similar remarks apply to Lord Sackville's writing. In his Letter written in 1745 (Plates 223–225), there are several examples of Lady Temple's formation of the letters *b* and *l*. See the letter *b* in the words "but" and "beauty," Plate 224, line 5; also the letter *b*, disjoined from the letter which preceded, in the words "approbation," on the 8th line, and "public," on the 12th line, of his Letter of July 30th, 1767 (Plate 227). The letter *l* similarly formed also stands isolated in the middle of a word. See the letter *l* in the words "compliments," Plate 223, line 4, "congratulate," line 7, and "cleared," line 10.

He has, however, another habit of forming the letters *b* and *l* in which he differs from Lady Temple. He frequently forms those letters without a loop, as in the words "English" and "remember," on the 2nd and 3rd lines of his Letter written in 1745 (Plate 223); also in the word "public," on the 12th line of his Letter written in 1767 (Plate 227). He differs from Lady Temple still more in the formations of the letters *f*, *h*, and *k*. The upper part of the letter *f* and the letters *h* and *k* are invariably formed without loops, a habit of writing which, although not uncommon in the Junian writing, is rarely found in that of Lady Temple.

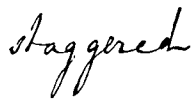
Discrepancies in the Formation of the Small Letter *g*.

III. The formation of the letter *g* by Lord Sackville is extremely uniform. There are no indications in his writing of ability to write that letter deliberately with a well formed loop, thus: , so constantly to be met with in the MSS. of Junius, when the disguise of that writing is neglected, as in his third Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 5), in his Dedication to the English Nation and Preface in the British Museum, and in other specimens of his writing (see Plates 17–20). The probability that Lord G. Sackville would have formed loops (had he adopted them as a disguise) to his letters *g* with the ease and

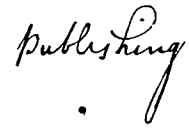
proficiency of an experienced penman is extremely remote. The act of writing in a feigned hand could not induce an invigorated style of writing, as would appear if Lord Sackville wrote the Junian Letters.

In the formation of the letter *g*, the writing of Lady Temple has little advantage over that of Lord G. Sackville. That letter, in her writing, is very rarely formed with a loop, and still more rarely with a loop formed with that perfection and refinement of hand occasionally met with in the Junian writing, as also in that of Francis, more particularly displayed in the manner of joining the down-stroke of the letter with the *o* part, touching it only in a single point at the top of the letter, thus: , as in the subjoined facsimiles taken from their Letters:—

JUNIUS. FRANCIS.



23. No. 2.3



23. No. 2.5

105.4

DISCREPANCIES IN THE FORMATION OF THE SMALL LETTER *y*.

IV. The letters *y*, also, in Lady Temple's writing, are almost as deficient of loops as the letters *g*. It is true that those letters are equally free from loops in Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 1), and in the Essay which accompanied it (Plates 7–12); but then in his third Letter to Mr. Grenville, and in the Dedication to the English Nation and Preface, well formed loops are thoroughly in fashion, and, to my mind, disclose the natural habit of forming those letters by the writer.

Lord G. Sackville is no less uniform in his formation of the letter *y* than he is in that of the letter *g*. There is no satisfactory instance in his writing, or in that of Lady Temple, of the letter *y* formed with a short straight tail increasing in strength, as in the word "may," on the 1st line of Junius's second Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 3), thus: ; and as in the word "July," on page 88 of Woodfall's Proof Sheets in the British Museum, No. 27,776, thus: (see Plate 95); or of an enlarged letter having a small looped tail when commencing such words as "you," "yours," as written

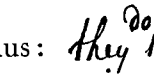
on the 14th line of Junius's second Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 5), thus: ; or of the several other varieties of that letter so largely entered into in my previous Report,[1] which have therein been shown to belong equally to Junius and to Sir Philip Francis (see Plates J, R, and S).

DISCREPANCIES IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH A PARTICULAR FORM OF THE SMALL LETTER *d* WAS USED BY JUNIUS, BY LADY TEMPLE, AND BY LORD G. SACKVILLE.

V. Lady Temple habitually formed the letter *d* thus: ; no other formation occurs in either of her Letters of 1769 and 1775 (see Plates 215–217), whereas Junius, like Francis, constantly employed the orthodox form, and habitually at the beginnings of words (see pages 33–38). That formation of the letter *d* is, in a far greater degree than other peculiarities to which I have called attention, so conspicuous in Lady Temple's writing that it is quite reasonable to infer that, if she were aware of its prevalence in her natural hand, she would have avoided such a formation whilst writing in a feigned hand. But it is highly improbable that she should have exercised her caution effectually only when a letter *d* commences a word, and have been inattentive to it when otherwise placed; for in some specimens of the Junian writing, although a similar formation of that letter may prevail in words terminating with a letter *d*, and may occasionally occur in the middle of a word, agreeing in these respects with Francis's writing, yet it very rarely occurs at the beginning of a word either in the Junian writing or in that of Francis. See the letter *d* in the middle of the word "understand," in the 1st page of Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 5, line 6; the only instance of a letter *d* in the curled form in the middle of a word on that page), and nine instances at the terminations of words; see also, in the 1st page of Francis's Letter No. 1, a similar formation of the letter *d* in the middle of the word "introduce," Plate 105, line 9 (the only instance of a letter *d* in the curled form in the middle of a word on that page), and eight instances at the terminations of words—proportions as nearly as possible agreeing with those in Junius's Letter. The former contains sixteen lines, and the latter fourteen lines, of writing; but in no instance in either of those pages does a word commence with that formation of the letter *d* so invariably adopted by Lady Temple in her two Letters written in 1769 and 1775.

[1] See pages 69 and 70.

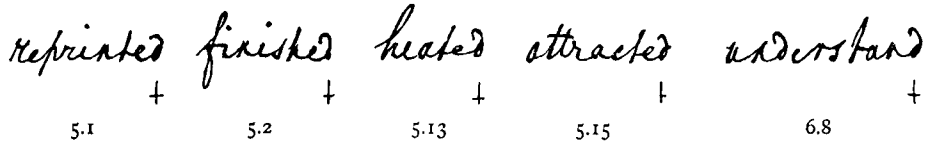
In my Report on Sir Philip Francis, at pages 33–35, I have directed attention to the close similarity of the concomitant circumstances under which both Junius and Francis excluded the curled form of the letter *d* from their writing. Since that Report has been in type, I have carefully examined the pages of the Dedication to the English Nation, and Preface, which have not been photo-lithographed, and I find how nearly my observations are borne out. In those pages, consisting of 310 long lines of writing, the curled form of the letter *d* occurs at the beginnings of words thirteen times only—of these, five instances only are in independent words; the remaining eight occur in junctions of words. Six of those instances occur in the verb "to do."

A remarkable instance occurs in the word "do," which had been omitted between the words "they not," on the 18th line of the 1st page of the Dedication, thus:  . Francis has written that word identically in the same manner, thus: , which also occurs in an interlineation on the 2nd page of his Letter dated Margate. 1st. July – 1770. the 1st page only of which has been photo-lithographed.

Lord Sackville's handwriting agrees more nearly with the Junian hand so far as regards the exclusion of this formation of the letter from the beginnings of words, but he uses no other at the ends of words; whereas both Junius and Francis frequently employ the ordinary form, thus: . In Junius's first and second Letters to Mr. Grenville (Plates 1–3) no other form is used; in his third Letter to Mr. Grenville both forms are used—in the middles and at the ends of words; but Lady Temple's formation of that letter occurs in no instance at the beginning of a word.

A comparison of the letter *d* in the curled form, as found in the several handwritings under examination, will show still more strikingly the superior claims of Sir Philip Francis over the two other competitors for the Junian hand. The four writers all agree in forming the letter thus: at the end of a word—Lord Sackville invariably, Lady Temple habitually, but not invariably, Francis and Junius frequently, and in like proportion; but the writing of Francis alone exhibits the dwarfed form of that letter which so often attracts the attention of the close observer of the Junian writing. See the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.



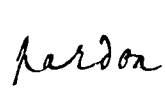
5.1 5.2 5.13 5.15 6.8

FRANCIS.

136.6 139.3 139.14 109.2

The same characteristic letter is also found in the middle of a word, as in the subjoined facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.



32.17

FRANCIS.

181.6

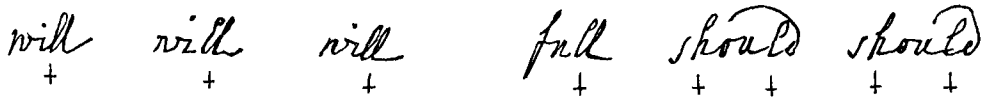
Many similar instances occur in the writing both of Junius and Francis, but no single instance in that either by Lady Temple or Lord G. Sackville. The habitual use of the letter *d* in the curled form, by Lady Temple, in her Letters written in 1769, 1772, and 1775, appears to have been an acquired habit, for I find in those specimens of her writing in the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville Papers' which were written before she became Lady Temple, several instances of the letter *d* in the common form. Of course it is within the bounds of possibility that Lady Temple might, whilst writing in a feigned hand in those years, have had recourse to such formation for the purpose of more effectually disguising her hand at that time, but it is scarcely within the bounds of probability that she should have adopted all the formations of that letter which I have shown at page 38 in my Report on Sir Philip Francis to have belonged to his hand.

A Final Letter *l*, and *l* before a Final Letter *d*, in Junius and in Lady Temple.

VI. In like manner I frequently find in the Junian writing a diminutive letter declining almost to the size of a letter *e*, as shown in my former Report, pages

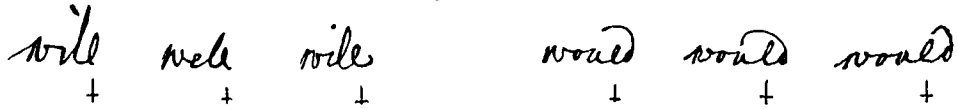
39–41. It occurs most frequently in words ending in double *l*, or when a letter precedes the particular formation of the letter *d* thus: .

Lady Temple's Letter of January 12th, 1775 (Plate 217), affords three instances of a word ending in double *l*, viz. "will," on the 5th and 7th lines, and "full," on the 11th line; and her Letter, written in 1769, one instance only, viz. the word "will," in the postscript on the 2nd page (Plate 216). The word "should" also occurs in both Letters, but the letter *l* in neither of those instances possesses the dwarfed character of the Junian letter. See the following facsimiles:—



I should expect to find instances of this unsuspected peculiarity of the Junian hand in the natural handwriting of the writer of the Junian Letters. I find no satisfactory instance in the writing of either Lady Temple or Lord G. Sackville, but I find striking similarities in the writing of Francis, as exhibited in the following facsimiles (see also pages 40 and 41):—

JUNIUS.



FRANCIS.

THE LETTER *e* IN JUNIUS, IN LADY TEMPLE, AND IN LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

VII. In my Report on Sir Philip Francis I have directed attention to the frequency with which Junius forms the letter *e*, when it terminates a word, with a curl, thus: (see pages 51–54). There is scarcely a page of his writing without one or more examples. If Lady Temple had been in the constant habit of terminating words in such a manner in a disguised hand

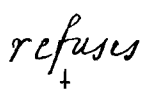
during a period of two years, she could hardly have excluded it from her Letters written in the years 1769, 1772 and 1775 (Plates 215–217 and Plate 222). There is no instance of it in any of those Letters, two of which at least were written in the Junian period. I find, however, an instance in the specimen of her writing when she was Miss Chambers (Plate 4, in the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville Papers'). It is again inconceivable that she should have accidentally adopted so freely another of Francis's inveterate habits of writing.

If Lady Temple wrote the Junius Letters, she has managed to introduce into her diguised hand the Greek form of the letter *e*,[1] both in the small letters and in capitals. There is no evidence in any of her Letters of her acquaintance with that form of the letter. Lord Sackville adopts it for a capital letter, but not for a small letter. In the Junian hand, it occurs so frequently at the beginning of a word as evidently to betray a habit of the writer. If it had been introduced as a disguise, it would have occurred much more frequently, and would have been found as often in the middle and at the end of a word as at the beginning.

In Lord G. Sackville's Letter of July 30th, 1767 (Plate 227), there are several instances of the small letter *e* and other letters at the ends of words finished with a curl, thus: ; but it is of a different character altogether from Junius's peculiarity, and does not evince the same freedom in the command of the pen. It can hardly be inferred that freedom was induced by the act of writing in a feigned hand, cramped, of necessity, by the distortion of its accustomed slope.

Discrepancies in the Formation of the Small Letter *f*.

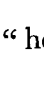
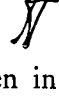
VIII. Lady Temple, like Sir Philip Francis, was not uniform in the formation of the letter *f*. That letter, in her handwriting, is occasionally made straight, and without a loop or returning up-stroke, thus: , the pen having been, in many instances, apparently lifted at the bottom of the letter, as in her Letter written in 1769 (Plates 215 and 216). See the following facsimiles:—

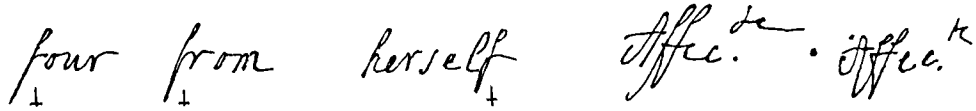

215.2

215.15

216.4

[1] See page 55.

Another formation occurs thus: , as in the words "four" and "from," on the 12th and 14th lines of her Letter, Plate 215; and a final letter, thus:  , in the word "herself," on the 14th line of the same Letter; and double *f*, thus:  , in the word "affectionate," at the close of each of her Letters written in 1769 and 1775 (Plates 216 and 217), as in the subjoined facsimiles:—

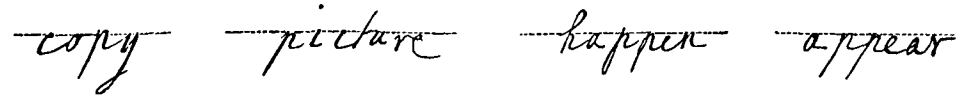


215.12 215.14 215.14 216.12 216.14

It is extremely improbable that all of these formations could have been effectually excluded whilst writing in a feigned hand. The Junian Letters are extremely free from them. On the other hand, those Letters present numerous distinctive formations of both double and single *f* which cannot be found either in the writing of Lady Temple or in that of Lord G. Sackville, but abundantly in that of Sir Philip Francis, as shown in my previous Report (see Plates H and I).

Discrepancies in the Formation of the Small Letter *p*.

IX. The small letter *p* is a strong characteristic of Lady Temple's writing. The down-stroke of the letter is habitually kept nearly to the same level as the smaller letters, as in the words "copy," "picture," "happen," and "appear," in her Letter written in 1769, Plate 215. Such a habit could hardly fail to characterise any feigned writing written by her.



215.2 215.7 215.11 216.1

In the Junian writing two distinct forms of the letter *p* are habitually employed: one, no doubt, a disguised form, thus: ; and another, no

doubt, the natural formation of the writer, thus: . Both are unlike Lady Temple's formation of the letter, but the latter coincides exactly with that of Francis, as in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS.

2.6 1.10 1.5 1.5

FRANCIS.

108.4 172.7 144.4 105.15

In Lord G. Sackville's Letter, written in 1745 (Plates 223–225), there are several instances which have a general resemblance to Junius's formation of the letter (*p*), but they are deficient in strength of hand; and in his Letter written about the time of the Junian writing, viz. July 30th. 1767 (Plate 227), a very decrepit formation of that letter by two separate operations of the pen predominates, as in the following facsimiles:—

227.4 227.8 227.14

ONLY ONE, AND THE SAME FORMATION OF THE SMALL LETTER *r* IN THE HANDWRITINGS OF LADY TEMPLE AND LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

X. In my previous Report I have directed attention to the very numerous formations of the letter *r* in the Junian Letters (page 14). I have there observed that in them the letter *r* occurs with its shoulder variously formed to the right side and also to the *left* side of the letter.

In Lady Temple's and Lord G. Sackville's writing it is never found with a shoulder otherwise than to the *right* side of the letter. In neither of their handwritings is there to be found the letter *r* with a shoulder thus: , or even with a shoulder clearly articulated to the same side of the letter as they made it, thus: , as frequently found in the Junian writing. There are also numerous

other formations of the letter *r*, with shoulders both to the left and to the right of the letter, in the Junian hand, many of them extremely distinctive, and which, as I have already observed in my previous Report,[1] have no parallel whatever either in Lady Temple's or in Lord G. Sackville's writing, but are plentifully reproduced in that of Sir P. Francis (see Plates A, B, C, D, and E). The *r*, again, is often detached from other letters in Lady Temple's writing, entirely at variance from the practice of Junius (see the word "refuses," Plate 215, line 2; "ready," line 8; "party," line 16; and "produce," line 18).

Discrepancies in the Formation of the Small Letter *t*.

XI. Lady Temple habitually formed the letter *t* without a leading up-stroke, thus: , not thus: , and this letter also is frequently disjoined from other letters both at the beginnings and at the ends of words. When a word consisting of two letters only is thus disjoined, it evinces great decrepitude of hand. See the following instances in her Letter written in 1769 (Plates 215 and 216):—The word "to," on lines 3, 4, 9, 10, and 18; the word "must," on line 4; "about," line 7; "that," line 8; "sent," line 10; and "part" and "gout," on line 15.

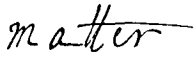
Lord G. Sackville also leaves the letter *t* standing alone at the end of a word. See in his Letter of July 30th. 1767 (Plate 227), the words "distinct," line 2; "omit," line 4; "conduct," line 12. Junius, on the contrary, rarely disjoins that letter, except in words wherein it is preceded by a capital letter or a letter *s*.

When writing double *t*,[2] Junius habitually formed both letters in the plainest manner, with a short down-stroke terminating in a bold round turn. Now, Lady Temple's double *t*'s are written after the same model, but her letters are taller and closer together than those of Junius; moreover, the lower turns of her letters have not the same freedom. The following facsimiles will show how much more nearly Francis's hand assimilates to that of Junius in the writing of double *t* than that of either Lord G. Sackville or of Lady Temple:—

JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.	LADY TEMPLE.	LORD G. SACKVILLE.
29.2	209.8	215.9	223.1

[1] See pages 19 and 20.

[2] See page 32.

JUNIUS.	FRANCIS.	LADY TEMPLE.	LORD G. SACKVILLE.
32.9	211.9	215.11	223.17
29.8	210.1	215.13	224.25
11.9	147.2	216.1	225.2
11.3	125.6	 215.6	224.15

Lady Temple and Lord George Sackville have both written the word "Letter" with a small letter *l* in all the instances which occur of that word in the specimens of their writing in this volume. Francis, on the contrary, has invariably written it with a capital letter; but Junius has written it in both ways in his Preface (Plate 19, lines 1 and 7), in his Letter to Woodfall (Plate 29, lines 2 and 8), and on other occasions, so that on that point, standing alone, neither of the three competitors takes precedence of the others. But upon reference to the preceding facsimiles, it will be found that the capital letter *L* by Junius is closely assimilated by Francis; whereas the small letters *l* in the words "letter" and "little" are imperfectly represented both by Lady Temple and Lord George Sackville, either in those facsimiles or at the beginning of any word in their Letters in this Volume.

With regard to the mode of crossing the letter *t*, Lady Temple again competes with Sir Philip Francis in that point of similarity to the Junian hand; but not so Lord George Sackville. Although Junius was extremely remiss in crossing the letter *t* when written singly, he rarely omitted to cross double *t* (*tt*) with an independent line. In Lord G. Sackville's Letter (Plates 223–225) there is no instance whatever of single *t* crossed, and only one instance of double *t*, viz. in the word "Pitt," as shown in the preceding facsimiles. In that instance one letter only is crossed, not by an independent line, but by a continuation from the bottom of the letter. In his Letter written in 1767, Plate 227 (the beginning of the Junian period), that mode of crossing the letter *t*

became not only more distinctly developed, but a confirmed habit when writing the word "*to*." In that Letter the word "*to*" occurs five times—in four instances crossed in a most distinctive manner, thus: . If he had written the Junian MSS. many instances of the word "*to*" written in a similar manner would in all probability have occurred in them. I have not observed a single instance.

Disjoined Letters in Lady Temple and in Lord George Sackville.

XII. I have now pointed out seven different letters, viz. *a*, *b*, *f*, *h*, *k*, *l*, *r*, and *t*, all of which, besides differing essentially in their formation from those of Junius, are repeatedly found isolated in words, in a single page of the writing of Lady Temple; and many instances occur in that of Lord Sackville. In Lady Temple's writing this habit of disjoining is not confined to those letters alone; nearly all others are in turn favoured with independent positions. I mean by this that the letters have been formed by a separate operation of the pen, which has been taken from the paper both before commencing the letter and immediately after its completion. See the following instances in the first page of Lady Temple's Letter, written in 1769 (Plate 215):—

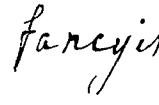
c	in the word	"picture"	line	1
d	„	„ "Middleton"	„	5
e	„	„ "speeches"	„	3
g	„	„ "Angelicas"	„	4
i	„	„ "picture"	„	7
m	„	„ "matter"	„	6
n	„	„ "annul"	„	17
o	„	„ "to"	frequently	
p	„	„ "speeches"	line	3
u	„	„ "produce"	„	18
y	„	„ "ready"	„	8

Exceptions may be taken to these objections, and similar instances pointed out in the writing of both Junius and Francis; but how rarely is the letter *i*, as an example, found isolated in the middle of a word in either of those handwritings! And when an example is found in each, their diminutive forms assimilate in the

closest manner, and strongly contrast with the forms of the isolated letters so often found in Lady Temple's writing. See the examples of a disjoined but diminutive letter *i* shown in my previous Report, at page 46, and compare with the fully developed letter *i* in the word "picture," on the 7th line of Lady Temple's Letter, written in 1769 (Plate 215). See the letter *i* also in the following words by Junius:—"immed*i*ately," Plate 20, line 13, Plate 44, line 4, and Plate 61, line 2; "Phys*i*cian," Plate 40, line 13; "deb*i*latatâ," Plate 84, line 1; and "diff*i*culty," Plate 100, line 14. Also by Francis, in the word "T*i*ckets," Plate 200, line 8; "T*i*cket," Plate 200, line 14; and "T*i*ckets," Plate 203, line 4. No such instances can be found in Lady Temple's writing.

Junius disjoins the letters following a letter *p*, when made in the curled form terminating in a dot, as in the word "production," on the 3rd line of his Letter to Mr. Grenville of 20th. October. 1768. (Plate 5); and this he does habitually, because that form of letter does not admit of a junction. But all the other letters in that word are written continuously without taking the pen from the paper; as is also the word "temptation," written on the last line but three of that Letter (Plate 6), and numerous other words in the Junian MS.

Such instances of continuity are of rare occurrence in Lady Temple's Letters. It is a constituent feature in her writing, much more so than in that of Lord Sackville, to disjoin letters, often separating not only words into syllables, but syllables again into letters.

Upon a careful examination of Lady Temple's two Letters, written in 1769 and 1775, it will be found in numerous instances that, although the letters forming the words touch each other, they have nevertheless been formed separately. See the word  , on the 5th line of her Letter of Jan 12th 1775 (Plate 217); the letters *i n* only have been written together without taking the pen from the paper. In that Letter, if carefully examined, there will be found at least a hundred letters entirely isolated from other letters in the words to which they belong, and three times that number written by a separate and distinct operation of the pen. It is scarcely within the bounds of possibility for a person whose handwriting is afflicted with such inveterate decrepitude to assume at will the firmness, the freedom, and the command of hand displayed in the writing of Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville, and his Dedication to the English Nation and Preface in the British Museum (see Plates 5, 17–20).

The Qualifications indispensable in a Candidate for the Junian Hand.

XIII. On page cc of the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville Papers,' the following observation occurs in reference to certain qualifications, the possession of which the writer considers "indispensable in a candidate for the Authorship" of the Junian Letters:—"There must be an appearance of facility in the penmanship, "and a certain original similarity of character or style in the writing, which show "a capability of being converted into the disguised hand." Now, I cannot regard the piecemeal mode of constructing the words, so characteristic of Lady Temple's writing as evidence of a facile command of the pen. Such an infirm[1] mode of writing would have been greatly aggravated in the writing of a feigned hand. It indicates that the pen was neither often nor hardly driven by the hand of Lady Temple. The writing of Junius exhibits the converse of Lady Temple's infirmity. He had such a habit of continuing the motion of his pen and keeping it on the paper that there is scarcely a page of his writing wherein there are not two or more words joined together. The same habit characterises every page of the writing of Francis. On the other hand, I have not seen an instance of a junction of words in any Letter or matter of correspondence written by Lady Temple that I have examined, amounting to twelve or fifteen pages, consisting of upwards of 250 lines of writing, and I have found no instance whatever in almost an equal amount of Lord George Sackville's writing.

With regard to the "original similarity of character or style," mentioned in the passage already quoted, Junius deviated so much in the general character or style of his writing that many handwritings might be found to have a superficial resemblance to some one or other selected specimen; and so, no doubt, a

[1] When remarking upon the infirmity of Lady Temple's handwriting, I refer to her Letters written during the Junian period, viz. from the year 1767 to 1773. That Lady Temple could, at a prior period, write with considerable proficiency is evinced by the two specimens of her writing given in the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville Papers,' Plate V.; and I have seen another specimen, in the possession of the late Mr. W. J. Smith, equally excellent; but that, like one of those in the 'Grenville Papers,' is a copy of some lines of poetry, evidently written with great painstaking. They all, however, contain certain fundamental principles, which became more fully developed when her hand broke down, prior to the Junian period, no doubt attributable to some direct cause.

specimen may be found which will assimilate at a first glance with the handwriting of Lady Temple. But the same handwriting that could be put in comparison with Junius's Letter to Woodfall, Plate 24, might have no pretensions whatever when placed side by side with his Letter, Plate 32, if general character alone is to be considered. As an addition to Mr. Smith's remark I would suggest that it must also be shown on behalf of any candidate for the authorship of the Junian Letters—that such person could and did write fluently in several different styles of writing in the course of ordinary correspondence—a qualification certainly possessed by Francis (see his Letter No. 3—Plates 113–117).

The Frequent Junction of Words in the Junian MSS.

XIV. The editor of the 'Grenville Papers' attributes the frequent junction of words in the Junian writing to the mode of holding the pen, in order to effect an upright style of writing.

At pages cxci and cxcii, he remarks:—"The upright style of the writing "is such as would be the result of holding the pen inclined from the right "shoulder at an angle of about forty-five degrees, and this mode of writing "will be found to encourage a tendency to join several words together, as was "frequently, but not invariably, the case with Junius, for in some of his letters "to Woodfall, the words not only stand distinct from each other, but in some "instances each particular letter in a word is completely detached from those on "each side of it."

I do not agree with those observations. In my opinion, the adoption of an upright style of writing would tend not only to discourage a junction of words but also a junction of letters, and cause them to stand distinct from each other in the manner pointed out in the latter part of the paragraph above quoted. If the adoption of an upright style of writing induces a junction of words which should be kept separate from each other, how much more strongly it must induce a junction of letters which should not be detached from each other!

An instance, however, may be pointed out in the Junian writing of the separation of all the letters in a word, as in the word "January," dating his first Letter on the Proof Sheets (Plate 91); but this is a solitary word, not written in a Letter as forming part of correspondence matter. In that instance he was writing for the printer, and transposing a date already printed at the foot of the

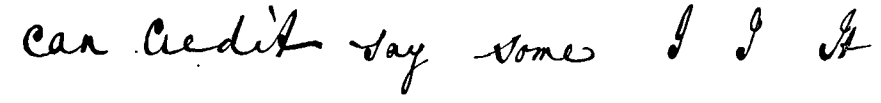
Letter, and emphasising the particular manner in which he intended that and all other dates to be printed. Such instances are the rare exceptions in the Junian hand, and not the ruling habit, as in the case of Lady Temple's writing. I attribute the great frequency of the junction of words, and the extent to which it is carried in the Junian writing, to a natural habit induced by rapid writing, which was so inveterate with Francis that, although of an adverse tendency, the adoption of an upright style, in writing the Junian Letters, failed to destroy or even diminish it.

That Francis was in the habit of writing in the most rapid manner will be evident on reference to many of his Letters. On the other hand, I can observe nothing in Lady Temple's writing to indicate that she ever did or could write otherwise than at one pace, in the most formal manner, word by word, often letter by letter (see the words "cannot" and "unhappy," in her Letter of Jan 12th 1775—Plate 217, line 2). The adoption of an upright style of writing would, in my opinion, have greatly added to the embarrassment of Lady Temple's hand if she had attempted to accelerate its ordinary pace.

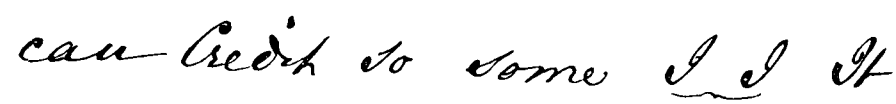
Discrepancies in the Formation of Dots, both to the Letter *i* and when they form Parts of Letters.

XV. If Lady Temple were the writer of the Junian Letters, she was so refined in her disguise as not to neglect so trivial a matter as the dotting of the letter *i*. In her natural handwriting, it is a feeble dot, and nothing more; but in the Junian Letters both the grave and the acute accents are often employed, firmly made, precisely in the same manner as they occur in Francis's Letters. There is not a specimen of the Junian writing in the 'Grenville Papers' without these accents, except that consisting of the address only of a Letter to Woodfall.

XVI. Again, the writing of Junius is remarkable for the firm and deliberate manner in which the dot is formed when it commences the small letter *c* and terminates the small letter *s*, thus: ; also when it forms part of a capital letter, as the letter *I*. These dots are frequently so large as to have the appearance of blots, as in the following facsimiles:—

JUNIUS. 

1.6 30.9 65.5 16.3 5.1 5.3 5.9

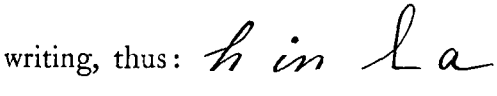
FRANCIS. 

176.13 196.7 164.3 105.4 136.1 170.2

The writing of both Lady Temple and Lord Sackville is equally bare of this characteristic. The imposition of such a device, for the purpose of disguise, on the hand of a writer unaccustomed to its use would have greatly fettered its freedom. Such obscure points, however, rarely engage the attention of persons who write in a disguised hand.

Lady Temple habitually terminated the letter *s* in a very opposite manner to that which characterises the Junian hand, viz. without any dot. See the words "refuses," "speeches," "Angelicas," "must," and "some," in the first four lines of her Letter, Plate 215. Compare also the terminating dots of the capital letter *I*, on the 2nd and 4th lines of her Letter, Plate 217, with the dots terminating the capital letter *I* in the Junian writing.

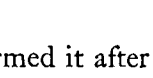
Deficiencies in the Mode of Terminating Words.

XVII. The terminations of words in Lady Temple's writing have little variety, and often have a puerile character (see the letter *l*, in the words "will," "royal," and "'til," respectively on the 2nd, 9th, and 12th lines of her Letter, Plate 215; also the letter *e*, terminating the word "picture," on the 1st and 7th lines, "time," on the 4th line, and "produce," on the 18th line; likewise the letter *n*, terminating the word "man," on the 12th line, of that Letter). All these are in strong contrast to the many varied modes of terminating words in the Junian writing, thus:  , all of which are found in Francis's writing, as exhibited in my previous Report (pages 50–56). An instance of each of those terminations occurs in Junius to

Woodfall, No. 40 (Plate 69); also in Francis's Letter, Plate 212, except the last of these terminations, and that will be found in the address of his Letters, Plates 120 and 122.

Discrepancies in the Formation of Capital Letters.

XVIII. With regard to capital letters, there are none in Lady Temple's writing, except, perhaps, the letter *L*, which will bear a comparison with those found in the Junian writing, and that letter in a very imperfect manner.

With regard to the capital letter *A*, no comparison can be made. Lady Temple invariably formed it after the established model, thus:  ; and Junius invariably employed an amplified formation of the small letter, thus: . Undoubtedly, the adoption of a small letter *a* by Lady Temple would effect a thorough disguise of her writing in that particular; but it so happens that the formation of that capital letter in the Junian hand is very peculiar, and agrees most minutely with Francis's mode of forming it, both as a small letter and a capital, as pointed out in my previous Report.[1]

XIX. Lady Temple also formed the capital letter *E* in the common manner (see the word "Eastbury," in her Letter to Lord Temple, written in 1775—Plate 217, line 8). Junius and Francis both used habitually the Greek form[2] for a capital letter, and when they departed from it, they both agreed in their mode of departure, as also shown in my previous Report (see Plate U).

Lord Sackville also used the Greek form of the letter *e*, but for a capital letter only, and so far has an advantage over Lady Temple. But the capital letters of both those writers bear no nearer comparison with the Junian letters than those of any ordinary handwriting.

Discrepancies in the Manner of making Abbreviations.

XX. The abbreviated form for the word "and" occurs five times in the specimens of Lady Temple's writing, in the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville

[1] See pages 66 and 67, and Plate P.

[2] See page 55.

Papers,' and eleven times in her Letter written in 1769 (Plates 215 and 216), thus: ; but it does not commence in any one of those instances with the long leading stroke which so often distinguishes that character as written by Junius, thus: (see pages 74–76).

XXI. Lady Temple abbreviated the word "should" thus: "shou'd" (see Plate 3, Example 2, line 5, in the 'Grenville Papers,' vol. iii.[1]). I have also seen the word "would," in her Letters formerly in the possession of the late Mr. W. J. Smith, twice abbreviated thus: "wou'd." Both Junius and Francis abbreviated those words in a different manner, thus: "sh^{d}" and "wo^{d}"[2]

XXII. Lady Temple abbreviated the word "which" thus: "w$^{ch}_{,,}$" (see Plate 216, lines 4, 8, and 9; and Plate 221, line 11). I have met with no instance of that word abbreviated in like manner in any of either Junius's or of Francis's writings.

XXIII. Lady Temple also abbreviated the word "until," thus: "'til," spelt with only one letter *l* (see the 12th line of her Letter written in 1769—Plate 215). The word "till" occurs three times in Junius, in every instance spelt, as Dr. Johnson spells that word, with two letters *l*, and not with one only, as Lady Temple spells it. Francis also spelt it with two letters *l* (see Junius to Woodfall, No. 2, Plate 23, line 5; Plate 40, line 1; and Plate 50, line 7; also Francis, Plate 119, line 4, and Plate 183, line 15). Both Junius and Francis disagreed from Dr. Johnson in spelling "until," which they also spell with two letters *l*: Francis has written that word with double *l* in all the five instances where it occurs in his Letters, and Junius has written it in the same manner in four instances at least (see Francis, Plate 114, line 10; Plate 127, line 4; Plate 151, line 5; Plate 180, line 2; and Plate 181, line 11; and Junius, Plate 6, line 8; Plate 10, line 7; Plate 11, line 12, and Plate 43, line 1).

XXIV. Lady Temple abbreviated the words "can not" with a break, and an apostrophe after the letter *a*, omitting the two letters *n* and *o*, and with an apostrophe before the letter *t*, dividing the word into three parts, thus: "ca' n't."

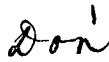
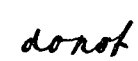
[1] Not photo-lithographed.

[2] See page 77.

Both Junius and Francis frequently wrote those words in full and joined them together, as also the words "do not;" and when they abbreviated either of those words, they never made a break in them. There is no instance in their writings of the word "cannot" abbreviated, or written in full, letter by letter, or of the words "do not" written, as Lady Temple wrote those words, severally; and, *vice versâ*, there is no instance in her handwriting of the words "cannot" and "do not" written in full, or of the abbreviated words "do not," written with a capital letter, in the same manner as both Junius and Francis occasionally wrote those several words, as exhibited in the following fac-similes:—

LADY TEMPLE.

'Grenville Papers,' Plate 4. 217.2 217.13

JUNIUS ... ...  

32.16 33.5 5.6

FRANCIS ... ...

153.15 149.3 157.2

XXV. Lady Temple frequently substituted an apostrophe for a mute *e* before the final *d*, in a præterite or a participle. Thus, in her Letter written in 1769, dated "Tuesday" (Plates 215 and 216), there are the following instances: "she "dress'd her;" "I never enter'd;" "they look'd like;" "the pearl gown is not "finish'd." Again, in the extract from her Letter written in 1772 (Plate 222), there are the following two instances: "the Opposition differ'd amongst them-"selves;" "saying he instill'd things into the K——s mind." These two Letters of Lady Temple include nearly the whole of the period during which Junius wrote his private Letters to Woodfall. In those Letters Junius made use of numerous abbreviations, yet it is a remarkable fact that he never once omitted the letter *e* in the præterite or participle of a verb. It is no less remarkable that Francis, who abbreviated the same words and in the same manner as Junius, never omitted, or substituted an apostrophe for, the mute *e*. If Lady Temple handwrote the Letters of Junius, the fact of her never using in those Letters an ellipsis of the letter *e*

must be accounted for either as accidental or as the effect of design to conceal herself. Neither of those alternatives appears probable. The period of intervening time is too long, the number of Junius's Letters too great, and the instances of other abbreviations in those Letters too many, to admit of the supposition that Lady Temple had a habit, in 1769 and 1772, of occasionally abbreviating a particular class of words in a particular manner, and that, notwithstanding, she by mere accident never once abbreviated them in the same way whilst writing in a feigned hand; and to suppose that she designedly omitted to abbreviate them in her accustomed manner seems equally inadmissible. If the result of design, then it must be inferred that all those words which in Junius are abbreviated in a different manner from Lady Temple's mode of abbreviating them were also the result of design. The task of excluding a particular mode of abbreviating a particular class of words, and distorting or altering the mode of abbreviating other classes of words, is far too intricate and too great a tax upon the mind to be successfully carried out in a large amount of writing, extending over so long an interval of time as the Junian period. Against these suppositions there is the fact, as I have fully shown,[1] that both in respect of Junius's non-abbreviating a particular class of words and his mode of abbreviating other classes of words, Francis exactly coincides with him in almost every minute circumstance. All the preceding observations apply with equal force against Lord G. Sackville. In his Letter, Plates 223–225, he has in no less than eight instances omitted the letter *e* in the præterite or participle of a verb, substituting an apostrophe in all except one.

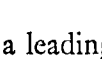
XXVI. Lady Temple has placed a small letter *l*, to signify pounds sterling, over the figure 30, thus: 30e, in one of her Letters formerly in the possession of the late Mr. W. J. Smith. Junius mostly employed a capital letter, with a single line drawn through it, as in his Letter to Woodfall, Plate 40, line 10, thus: £4000. On the 13th line of the same Letter, however, he has employed, like Lady Temple, a small letter *l*, but it is distinguished from her symbol by having a line drawn through it.

[1] See pages 74–78.

Discrepancies in Numerals or Figures.

XXVII. The figures or numerals of a penman are often a criterion of his command of the pen. Those written by a male hand, and those written by a female hand, as a rule, have distinct characters, and are easily distinguishable.

The figures in the dating of Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 5) are evidently those of a masculine hand, well skilled in writing them. An inspection of Lady Temple's figures will show at a glance her incapacity to form them as they are found in the Junian hand. It is beyond the bounds of probability that such marked improvement could accrue as a consequence of writing in a feigned hand.

Lady Temple commenced the figure 5 with a leading up-stroke, thus:  , in two instances (all that occur in the datings of her Letters which I have examined); but in no instance the figure 6, which occurs three times, viz. twice in the dates of her Letters (see page 173), and once in the body of a Letter exhibited to me by the late Mr. W. J. Smith. Junius, on the contrary, has in no instance appended a similar up-stroke to the figure 5, but has in several instances formed the figure 6[1] with that distinction, thus: Such an appendage to the figure 5 is the mark of a feeble writer, inexperienced in the formation of figures, but when applied to the figure 6, it conveys a very different impression. That figure so formed is often found amongst the figures of the most adroit penmen. It can hardly be assumed that Lady Temple was aware of so minute a peculiarity in her natural hand. and that she transferred it from the figure 5 to the figure 6 for the purpose of disguise. Such refined subtlety is extremely improbable. Had she been mindful of disguising her figures whilst writing in a feigned hand, in all probability such figures (judging from those found in her natural hand) would have assumed the most grotesque forms (see especially the figures 3 and 7 as written by her in page 173, and compare them with the same figures as written by Junius, Plate X).

The figure 8, as formed by Lady Temple, is the only figure that can be assimilated in the Junian hand. Junius formed that figure in two ways, one of which I look upon as an undisguised form, as in the dating of his third Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 5), and the other in a disguised form, as in the dating of his first Letter (Plate 1); the latter, which resembles Lady Temple's formation of

[1] See pages 83 and 131, also Plate X.

that numeral, is by far the most numerous in the Junian hand, and so far upholds her claims to that hand. But none of the other figures in the dating of that Letter are disguised, and they have far less resemblance to Lady Temple's figures than they have to those of Francis.

Independently of discrepancies in the formation of letters and figures, there are other reasons which tend to prove that the Junian Letters could not have been written by Lady Temple, viz. the defective punctuation of her writing the mode of dating her Letters, and the style of the openings of her Letters generally.

Defective Punctuation in Lady Temple and in Lord George Sackville.

XXVIII. With regard to punctuation, at page cxci, in the 'Grenville Papers,' vol. iii., the editor remarks, in reference to the writing of the Junian Letters:—"The punctuation is always most carefully attended to." This circumstance convinces me that Lady Temple could not have written those Letters, for her writing is so extremely defective in regard to punctuation that it betrays positive ignorance of that auxiliary to perspicuity in writing.

Her Letter written to Lord Temple in 1769, Plates 215 and 216 (at the time of the Junian writing), would have been quite as intelligible without any punctuation. There is no stop after the word "picture," on the 1st line, and a comma only after the word "original," on the 5th line; punctuation is then disregarded until after the word "letter," on the 11th line, and the remainder of her Letter is equally defective. It would be difficult to punctuate the three first lines of that Letter to make sense of them. Her Letter, Plate 217, written two years after all the Junian MSS. had been written, discovers no improvement whatever in regard to punctuation, and no difference in any essential particular from that of her Letter written in 1769.

If Lady Temple wrote the Junian Letters as the amanuensis of Lord Temple, she must have written them either from his dictation or from a draft copy written by him. If from dictation, then (assuming that Lady Temple did not understand punctuation) the punctuation must also have been dictated during the progress of the writing—a process that would have been intolerable, and therefore highly improbable; or else it must have been supplied by Lord Temple after the manuscript was written. But this is equally improbable, for this reason: in the Junian writing more than ordinary space frequently occurs

after a punctuated word. How, then, could Lady Temple have left these spaces for punctuation if she had not the knowledge? (See, in Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville, the spaces occupied by the punctuation after the following words, viz.: "Atticus," Plate 5, line 2; "Author," Plate 5, line 4; "Rockinghams," Plate 5, line 6; "Amusement," Plate 5, line 12; "habit," Plate 5, line 12; "Minister," Plate 6, line 9. And in the Essay sent to Mr. Grenville, after the words—"taxation," Plate 7, line 6; "hands," Plate 7, line 7; "poison," Plate 7, line 7; "lightly," Plate 8, line 2; "Waggoner," Plate 8, line 7; "gentlemen," Plate 8, line 17; "defalcation," Plate 9, line 8; "to," Plate 10, line 7.)

An endeavour might be made to surmount that difficulty by the supposition that, although Lady Temple was herself unable to punctuate her writing, she might, nevertheless, as the amanuensis of Lord Temple, have correctly transcribed the punctuation from a draft copy written by him; then, such a supposition involves another, extremely difficult to realise, viz. that Junius's three Letters to Mr. Grenville, his private Letters to Woodfall, as well as his corrections and additions on the Proof Sheets of his Letters, have all been written in duplicate, first by himself, and then copied by Lady Temple. Such a process could hardly have been submitted to on all those occasions; but there is evidence to show the improbability of the punctuation of the Junian Letters having emanated from Lord Temple.

In many instances dashes are added to the punctuation of the Junian writing, involving a still further increase of space between the words where they occur; and paragraphs are separated and prominence is occasionally given to words by lines placed more or less obliquely to the writing. The clearness, emphasis, and tone of mind which these lines and dashes give to the matter written show that they originated in the mind that governed the hand, and therefore that the same person whose hand wrote the Junian Letters was, in all probability, also the author of them. None of these distinctive marks are found in Lord Temple's writing, therefore it is improbable that he suggested them or that he inserted them after the manuscript had been written.

The punctuation of Junius is, moreover, singularly good, and in some instances, perhaps, as excellent as can be found in handwriting (see his Essay, Plates 7–12; his third Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plates 5 and 6); and his Dedication to the English Nation and Preface in the British Museum, parts of which are photo-lithographed in Plates 17–20).

Lord Temple's punctuation, although superior to that of Lady Temple,

is, nevertheless, below the standard of Junius. On the other hand, so far as I am able to form an opinion, the Letters of Francis afford specimens of punctuation that are quite worthy of being placed in competition with the best specimens of Junius (see his Letter, Plate 186). When, in addition to this, all the peculiarities of Junius's punctuation, which I have pointed out as being wanting in the writing of Lord Temple and of Lady Temple, are found strongly to characterise Francis's writing, further speculation on the claims of Lord or of Lady Temple to the punctuation of the Junian Letters becomes vain and delusive.

Francis was no less constant and careful in his attention to punctuation than Junius, and there is not a single form of it, or any symbol whatever that was used by Junius, that cannot be found in Francis's writing. Junius occasionally added a dash to every form of punctuation; so did Francis. Junius sometimes separated his sentences by short lines at their commencement, and gave prominence to words by placing lines between them; so did Francis. Junius habitually placed his initial *C* between two lines; and so Francis has in five instances written his initials *P. F* in precisely the same manner, as demonstrated in my previous Report (see pages 78–82).

Although Mr. W. J. Smith specifies no point in his facsimiles in which the handwriting of Lady Temple is similar to the handwriting of Junius, I observe that he mentions elsewhere three points of similarity in their writings. Thus at page cxcix, in the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville Papers,' he writes:—"The mark "of admiration is made in the same way by Junius and Lady Temple; it is a "clumsy stroke of uniform thickness, not as it is usually formed, commencing "thick and tapering off to a point. It occurs at the end of the poem by Junius "called *Harry and Nan*, and also in the manuscript of Lady Temple's poems, "as well as another peculiarity common to both, a short dash, thus — after the "punctuation at the ends of some of the lines." Now the dash is not a peculiarity in the specimens of Lady Temple's writing which I have seen, but it is a very strong peculiarity of the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis, as I have already observed. With regard to the *tapering* of the mark of admiration, I refer the reader to the Letter to Garrick (Plate 64)—the writing of which Mr. Smith eulogises so much. On the 4th line of that Letter, the mark is so finely tapered that Mr. Smith himself might have given it as an example to illustrate his meaning.

At page cc of the volume already quoted, Mr. Smith directs attention to a third point of similarity between Junius and Lady Temple; he observes thus:—

"There is another remarkable peculiarity to be found twice or thrice in the "Junian manuscripts, which I have never discovered in any other writings except "in those of Lord Temple, who has also used it two or three times. Where a "single mark of omission only is necessary, they both use it double, thus ^^, "and both without any apparent reason." Now Mr. Smith observes this peculiarity in Lord Temple's writing, and not in that of Lady Temple. He therefore implies that both of those persons had a hand in the writing of the Junian MSS.

The trivial points to which Mr. Smith has directed attention would, doubtless, have acquired some degree of importance, had he followed them up by other points connected with the formation of letters in which the handwriting either of Lord Temple or of Lady Temple could be shown to agree with that of Junius. All that he does is to place before his readers such specimens of the Junian hand as seem to have a general resemblance to the hand of Lady Temple, leaving it for his readers to discover the points of similarity which are supposed to identify the two hands.

The punctuation of Lord Sackville is less defective than Lady Temple's, but it is far from being equal to that of Junius. I do not think Junius would have been content with a comma after the word "shew," on the 8th line of his Letter of October 29th 1745 (Plate 223). This is not accidental, for there is a like limitation, on the 9th line, after the word "conduct," with other similar defects as well as omissions of punctuation in various parts of that Letter.

Discrepancies in the Mode of Dating Letters.

XXIX. There are other reasons, in which punctuation is further involved, which also tend to prove that the Junian Letters could not have been written by Lady Temple as the amanuensis of Lord Temple. In my previous Report I have shown that the datings of all the Letters of Junius extant which have dates noting place and time, viz. the two written to Lord Chatham (Plates 13 and 14), and the three written to Mr. Grenville (Plates 1, 3, and 5), with the exception of the omission of a stop after the name of the month in two of those datings, agree in no less than nine points, which I here repeat, viz.:—

1. The placing the note of place and time at the top of the Letter, and not at the foot or close of it.
2. The writing the whole in one line only.
3. The writing the name of place.
4. Placing the day of the month before the month, and not after it.

5. Placing a stop after the name of place.
6. Placing a stop after the day of the month.
7. Placing a stop after the name of the month.
8. Placing a stop after the figures of the year.
9. Writing in full such months as "January," "February," and "October,"

The following dating, taken from Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville, illustrates these nine points:—

London. 20th. October. 1760.

Junius's first Letter to Lord Chatham (Plate 13), and his first Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plates 1 and 2), are each deficient of a single point only, viz. a stop after the name of the month.

In addition to these nine points connected with the datings of Letters, there is the habit of placing a fullstop after the salutation to the correspondent: "Sir." "My Lord."

The following are copies of the openings of fifteen Letters of Lady Temple, eleven of which are in the 'Grenville Papers' belonging to Mr. Murray, and the remaining four are in the possession of the widow of the late Mr. W. J. Smith. I must here acknowledge the very liberal manner in which Mr. Smith gave me unlimited freedom of access to all the Letters and other writing by Lady Temple in his possession, as also to numerous copies of Junius's writing, admirably executed in facsimile by himself.

OPENINGS OF ELEVEN LETTERS BY LADY TEMPLE, IN THE 'GRENVILLE PAPERS.'

1. Ap.l 5.th
(*No salutation.*) (1763.)

2. Monday 20.th
My dearest Lord,

3. (*A draft without date.*) (1763.)
"Lady Temple is extreamly obliged to Mr Walpole"

4. (*No salutation.*) Ap^{l} 17th

5. my dear Long man, Ap^{l} 19th

6. Madam, May 11th 1764 (*Date at foot of Letter.*)

7. my dear Lady Harriot, June 26th.

8. my dear Lady Harriot, (*No date.*)

9. my dear Madam, (*No date.*)

10. my dear Ld Tuesday

11. (*No salutation.*) Jan 12th 1775

OPENINGS OF FOUR LETTERS BY LADY TEMPLE, 'IN THE POSSESSION OF THE WIDOW OF THE LATE MR. W. J. SMITH.

12. (*No separate salutation.*) Dec^{br} 23^{d}

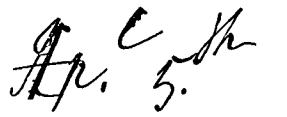
13. (*No salutation.*) Monday 19th

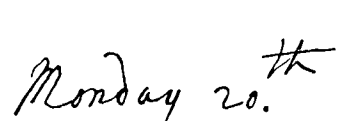
14. (*No salutation.*) March 28th

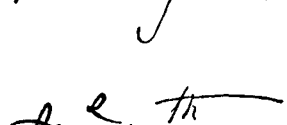
15. Madam, Stowe 22^{d} Sept.

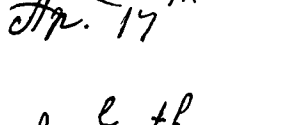
Three of those Letters have no date of any kind. Of the eight which have a salutation to the correspondent, seven have a comma, and one is without a stop, after the salutation, for the dot after "L^{d}." in the Letter dated "Tuesday" must be regarded as a dot of abbreviation, the same word in the same place occurring twice in the body of that Letter. When I say of the Letter No. 12 that it has no separate salutation, I mean that there is a salutation, but that it occurs in the text of the Letter, thus:—"I am very much oblig'd to you my dear Lord for your "kind Letter wch rais'd my spirits as much (*sic*) a dose of hartshorn would do"

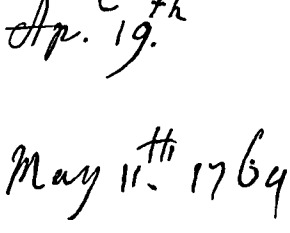
The following are facsimiles of all the datings of those Letters (one only excepted, noting only the day of the week, "Tuesday," and which cannot properly be considered a dating):—

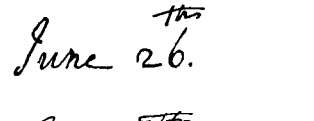


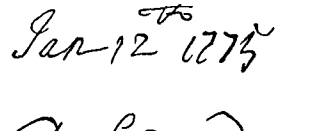


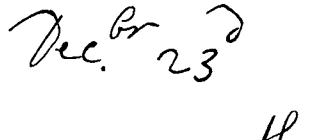


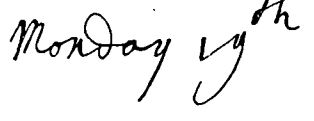


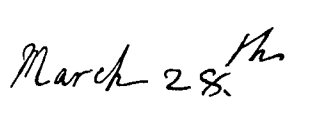


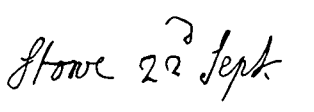












Of the ten datings which have both the names and the numerals of the months—one dating only has the name of place, but there is no stop after it; in eight instances, the numerals are written after the names of the months; in every instance where the month consists of more than one syllable, it is abbreviated; in four instances, Lady Temple has omitted a stop after the name of the month, and in four, after the numerals of the month; in two

instances only has she written the figures of the year, but in neither case has she put a stop after them; and in one instance the dating is at the foot of the Letter. Seven of those datings have only one stop; two only have as many as two stops; and one has no stop of any kind.

The following is a Table of all the dates by Junius which are analogous to those by Lady Temple:—

IN HIS LETTERS TO WOODFALL.

No. 39	...	...	14: March (*on the address*)
„ 44	...	...	27. Nov. 1770
„ 48	...	...	6. January. 72.
„ 57	...	Saturday.	29. Feb.
„ 63	...	...	19. Jan.

FORMAL DATES ON THE PROOF SHEETS OF JUNIUS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL, No. 27,776.

21.	January.	1769	
26.	January.	1769.	
7.	February.	1769.	
16.	February	1769.	
21.	February.	1769.	
25.	February	1769.	
3d.	March.	1769.	
18.	March.	1769	
10.	April	1769.	
21.	April.	1769.	
24.	April.	1769.	
30.	May.	1769.	
8.	July.	1769.	
19.	July.	1769.	
29.	July.	1769.	
8.	August	1769.	
22.	August.	1769.	
18.	Sept.r	1769.	
14	Sept.r	1769.	
25.	Sept-	1769.	
13.	Oct.	1769	
7th.	Oct.	1769.	
17.	Oct.	1769.	
15.	Nov.	1769.	
29.	Nov.r	1769.	
12.	Dec.r	1769.	
14.	February.	1770.	
19.	March.	1770.	
3.	April.	1770.	
28.	May.	1770.	
22.	August.	1770.	
6.	february.	1771.	

Besides the above formal dates, there are dates quoted as in the following instances:—

of 1. August. 69.
of 14. Aug. 69.
dated 22. May. 1771. which I send you
of 4. Sept. 1769.
dated 26. July. 1734. from which,
of 19. Oct. 1769.
of 19. Oct.
of 14. Novth. 1769. which I send you
of 8. Novr. 1768, it was declared
on the 27. of November 1769, &, by
of the 3^{d}. of April 1628. —
of 13. November. 1770.
of 6. Feb. 1771, which I send you
of 28 May 1771.
of 25. May & 28. May } which I send you.
after the 22^{d}. April
the 27. of Ap^{l}. which you sh^{d}.
of 12. & 22 June
of 26. August which I send you
of 26. Aug. 1771. which I send you.

In all the four instances where the month "April" occurs in the formal dates, it is written in full; in one instance only in the quoted dates is it abbreviated as Lady Temple abbreviates it; in no instance in the formal dates is there a month consisting of less than three syllables abbreviated; and in every instance, fifty-eight in number, the numerals precede the months.

Scantiness of stops characterises the dating of Lady Temple, and profusion those of Junius—sufficiently so to show that the natural tendencies of each were in opposite directions.

The following is a Table of all the dates endorsed by Francis on the numerous Letters in the Letter Book addressed to him, which are analogous to Lady Temple's datings. In this Table the numerals precede the month in every instance, "April" is written in full, where it occurs, and no month of less than three syllables is abbreviated. These datings are not given in facsimile, because

the point now under consideration is independent of handwriting; nevertheless the positions of the abbreviations *th* and *d* are accurately placed:—

16. Feb. 1768
28. May 1772.
28. Decr. 1769
17. August. 1770.[1]
17. August 1770
27. July. 1768
14. August. 1771
29th: May. 1772.[1]
29th: May. 1772.
10 Sept. 1767
12th: Novr. 1770[1]
12th: Novr. 1770
24. Octr. 1771.
31. July. 1770
7th. August 1770
20. Septr. 1770.
23^{d} Septr. 1770.
27. Septr. 1770.
10th. Octr. 1770
20. June. 1771
20. August. 1771
19. February 1772.[1]
19. Febry. 1772
26. Febry: 1772
28. Febry. 1772.[1]
28. February. 1772
21. March. 1772

10. Novr. 1771
2^{d} Decr. 1769
3^{d} May 1771.[2] (*At the edge of the Letter when folded.*)
19th May 1771.
5. July. 1771
2^{d} March. 1772.
8th. September 1773.[1]
8: Septr. 1773.
29. Septr. 1773
1st Decr. 1773.
12. Oct. 1773
5th: Octr. 1773.[1]
5th: Octr. 1773.
27. Octr. 1773.[1]
Wednesday 27th October 1773
27: Octr. 1773
4th: Septr. 1773.
10. Novr. 1772
10. June 1773
28 Decr. 1773.

Rx 25th: March.
Rec^{d}. 16th. Decr. 1758.[2] (*At the edge of the Letter when folded.*)
Rx 18th. June.
Rx 22^{d} May.

[1] These Letters have been written without dates, but are all dated by Francis at the heads of those Letters.

[2] The folding of these Letters prevented the dates being written in one line.

Rx 4th: June.
Rx 18th: June.
Rx 16. July.
Rx 17th. August.
Rx 12th: July
Rx 13th. Sepr.
Rx 8. Novr.

Rx 9th. Decr.
Rx. 16. Decr.
Rx 13. Janry. 1772.
Rx 9th. June.
Rx 6th. October.
Rx 17 Novr.
received 30th Novem 1773.
Rx 29th. Octr.

The preceding datings are, perhaps, more deficient in stops than those of Junius on page 175. The former, however, are merely temporary memoranda, whereas the latter are written in the printer's copy.

The following dates are quoted in sentences in Francis's Letters:—

Plate	
126.2	of the 15 of Decr.
126.3	& 20th. of January.
150.3	of the 2d. of Decr.
151.4	of the 2d. and 13 of December.
152.11	of the 25 of January, our dearest
205.3	of the 2d. of January, and
154.2	of the 21st. and 22d. of February, but no
185.6	(28. March)
157.2	and 25th. of April.
162.4	of the 20th. of October, by which
211.12	of the 17th of August.
212.2	of the 24th of September by
200.1	of the 6th. of September, and
167.2	of the 14th of January.

Again, on the assumption that, although Junius's datings are unlike those of Lady Temple, the difference may be accounted for on the hypothesis that Lord Temple superintended Lady Temple when she wrote the feigned hand of Junius—that supposition will become untenable after an examination of the

following copies of the openings of twenty-five of his Letters, all that were written by him in the 'Grenville Papers.' These also are not given in facsimile, because facts only in connection with handwriting are now in question :—

OPENINGS OF LETTERS WRITTEN BY EARL TEMPLE.

1. My dear Sir — Stowe July 24. 1763 —

2. Sir — Hackwood Aug 12. 1765

3. My dear Sir — Stowe Sep 28. 1763

4. My dear Sir — (*No date—draft of a Letter.*)

5. My dear Brother — Fryday 9 o clock P. M.

6. My dear Brother — Tuesday near 11 at night

7. My dear Brother — Stowe July 2. 1765

8. (*No disjoined salutation.*) — Stowe July 9. 1765

9. My dear Brother — Stowe July 14. 1765

10. Stowe Sep 5. 1765
Sir

11. Sunday
My dear Brother

12. Stowe Sunday night
Oct 13 1765
My dear Sir

13. Stowe May 15
1765 — 3 o clock
in the morning.
Sir (*Draft of a Letter.*)

14. Wednesday morn
Dear Brother

15. (*No salutation.*)
Wednesday
March 18. 1767. (*At foot of Letter.*)

16. Stowe
Wednesday night
My dear Brother

17. Stowe 17 July 1767
past 3.
My dear Brother

18. Stowe past 3. July. 18
1767
(*No salutation.*)

---

19. Wotton July 17 1767
10 at night
(*No salutation.*)

---

20. Stowe. friday
Morn
July 31. 1767
My dear Brother

---

21. Monday night
Aug. 3. 1767
My dear Brother

---

22. Stowe Nov.r 26 1767
My dear Brother

---

23. Stowe. July 19.th 1767
(*No salutation.*) (*Copy.*)

---

24. Stowe June 24.th 1772
Sirs (*Copy.*)

---

25. Stowe Sep 8. 1772
My dear Lord

Of these twenty-five openings, five have no separate salutation, seven have no name of place, six are without the day of the month, and six are without the figures of the year.

Of nineteen Letters having the figures of the year, one only has a fullstop and two have a dash, but sixteen have no stop of any kind after those figures.

Of nineteen Letters having the day of the month, Lord Temple has in eighteen instances written the day of the month after the month; thirteen dates have only one stop, and two have no stop whatever.

Lord Temple's datings, therefore, completely vie with those of Lady Temple in respect of a paucity of stops. This is especially remarkable in Lord Temple's salutations. He does not once put a stop after "Brother" in any one of the twenty openings of his Letters having a salutation to the correspondent; whereas Junius, in twenty-five extant salutations, has put a fullstop after twenty; two of these have a line in addition to the fullstop, and six others have an oblique line only.

Lord Temple has also, like Lady Temple, on one occasion dated at the foot of the Letter; neither of them, therefore, could have had any particular aversion to that mode of dating. But Junius evidently had a positive objection to placing a date at the foot of a Letter: so much so that, in the revision of his Letters printed by Woodfall, he has in two instances struck his pen through the dates printed at the foot of the Letter (in both of which the figures are placed after the month) and written them again at the commencement, placing the figures before the month, agreeably with his invariable habit. Francis also on several occasions manifested in like manner his objection to dating at the foot of a Letter; and on one occasion at least, referred to in my previous Report, he has transposed the dating of a Letter addressed to him from the foot to the head of the Letter.[1]

There is, therefore, nothing whatever in the datings of Lord Temple to suggest that those of Junius owe their origin to his influence in any way whatever. Junius was so particular, and attached so much importance to the dates of his public Letters, that, wherever he found them omitted in the former edition of his Letters, he supplied them in the corrected sheets of his work.[2] So also Francis has himself supplied the dates to twelve Letters in the Letter Book

[1] See page 128.

[2] See ibid.

which were written to him without date, and in three instances (in Letters from abroad) he has written the date in full in one line at the head of the Letter; one of them contains all the nine points before referred to.[1]

The datings of Lord Sackville's two Letters, written in 1745 and 1775 (Plates 223 and 227), are both written, like those of Junius, in one line at the top of the Letter. Both also have the name of place, the month, day of the month, and figures of the year; but the numerals of the month are written after the month, and there is only one stop in each dating, viz. after the numerals of the month. After the salutation to the correspondent there is no stop of any kind.

It may be suggested that the contrast which exists between the datings of Junius and those of Lord and of Lady Temple, and the numerous discrepancies in the Junian hand as compared with Lady Temple's writing, are intentional for the purposes of disguise. One answer to such a suggestion seems to be that many of the discrepancies in Lady Temple's writing, and also in that of Lord Sackville, are, as I have already pointed out, of too obscure a nature to admit of that explanation. Perhaps, however, such an illusive hypothesis is best answered by the fact that all the datings of Sir Philip Francis, no less than forty-four in number, correspond in nine points with nearly all the extant datings of Junius; four only of those Letters being deficient, like two of Junius, of a single point only; and further, that all other points which have been shown as dissimilarities when comparing Lady Temple's writing with that of Junius are found to be similarities when Francis's writing is substituted for that of Lady Temple.

Discrepancies in Spelling.

XXX. On page cxcvii of the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville Papers,' several instances are given of doubtful and incorrect spelling. This subject requires so large an induction, were I to enter into it fully, that it would carry me too far out of the limits of my proper sphere. I shall, therefore, briefly observe that some of the instances there given only show the now obsolete modes of spelling certain words, such as compl*eat* for compl*ete*, extr*eam* for extr*eme*, and st*i*le for st*y*le, all of which are spelt in the same way by Francis, as observed in

[1] See page 170.

the limited remarks I have made on this subject in my previous Report (see pages 86–90).

The editor of the 'Grenville Papers' further remarks that Junius always wrote the words "*honourable*" and "*favourable*" without the letter *u*. This is not strictly the fact with regard to the word "honourable." The editor has overlooked (no doubt unintentionally) that word spelt with a letter *u*, as Francis spelt it, on the 7th line of Junius's second Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 3)—a portion of which is given in facsimile in the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville Papers.' Such oversights are scarcely to be avoided in investigations of this kind. Possibly I have committed similar inaccuracies, but, as in the case alluded to, although they may weaken the force of the point in question, they do not always destroy its import; for notwithstanding the oversight by Mr. Smith, Junius has written the word "honourable" at least four times out of five, and the word "favourable" wherever it occurs in the Junian MSS. without a letter *u*, as observed by him.

He has also given instances of the words "English" and "Irish" spelt with a small instead of a capital letter. With regard to these, Junius obviously used small letters for the purpose of disguise. With that object in view, he occasionally used a small letter at the beginning of a sentence, and also in a few instances for the pronoun *I*; but these improprieties gave way to a better style, which was more natural to his hand, as his third Letter to Mr. Grenville and many others of his Letters testify; an observation which is not applicable to Lady Temple, if she is to be judged by her two Letters written in 1769 and 1775. Here again it may be inferred that the instances of small letters used instead of capitals in the Junian MSS. are inadvertencies of Lady Temple's hand. If so, the more educated manner of writing capital letters, where they should be employed in the Junian hand, being contrary to Lady Temple's usual practice, must have been adopted for the purpose of disguise. It is quite as reasonable to infer that she punctuated the Junian MSS. fully and properly in furtherance of the same object.

When disguising their hands, anonymous writers may, and often do, descend to a style of writing inferior to their own, and they may write more carefully than they usually do, but it is unlikely that they should display either more cultivated habits of writing or greater knowledge than they give indications of in their ordinary practice.

The Improbability of the Junian MSS. having been Written by an Amanuensis.

XXXI. There are reasonable grounds upon which to arrive at the conclusion that no amanuensis has been employed to write any of the Junian Letters and MSS.

It may be suggested that, although the bad punctuation of Lady Temple, and the discrepancies from Junius in her mode of dating Letters, may render it improbable that she wrote the Letters and MSS. of Junius from dictation, yet some other more accomplished amanuensis might have written them from his dictation.

Against that hypothesis, whilst it is quite conceivable that Junius might have dictated from his mind, off hand, many of his private Letters to Woodfall, it is scarcely conceivable that he could have dictated, with the same readiness, compositions such as his Essay sent to Mr. Grenville, his Dedication to the English Nation, and his Preface, now in the British Museum, and his public Letters—displaying, as they do, so much well studied and powerfully expressed matter. In his Letter to Woodfall, Plate 70, he writes: "I weigh every word: & every "alteration is in my eyes at least a blemish."

There can be no reasonable doubt, therefore, that Junius, like other literary writers, particularly those who write censoriously and argumentatively, and who intend their aspersions and arguments to be irrefutable, in the first instance sketched his thoughts on paper, occasionally making amendments and additions to his manuscript, until his ideas were expressed in the most finished manner, and in the best style to which he could attain. In his Letter to Woodfall, Plate 28, he says: "I am not capable of writing anything more finished;" and in his Letter, Plate 30, the following passage occurs, viz.: "As to Junius, I must wait for "fresh matter, as this is a character, which must be kept up with credit." On another occasion, viz. in his Letter, Plate 59, he writes: "I am strangely "partial to the inclosed. It is finished with the utmost care;" and again, in his Letter, Plate 73, he says: "The paper itself is, in my opinion, of the highest "style of J:"

Now if Junius committed, and it can hardly be doubted that he did so, the well studied conceptions of his mind to paper, it is extremely improbable that he would have dictated them when he could have placed his finished draft into

the hands of his amanuensis, if he had one, to copy, without further trouble to himself.

It is true, that Junius might have dictated from his completed draft, but it is difficult to realise the probability that an amanuensis should have followed him with so much accuracy, through so many consecutive lines of writing, as is achieved in the MSS. of his Essay, his Dedication to the English Nation, his Preface, and his Letter to Lord Barrington. In his Essay, after the words "with "an unreasonable exception," beginning the 12th line, no less than ninety-six consecutive lines are written with but a single erasure, and with only two words omitted. The 1st page of his Dedication, consisting of 376 words in twenty-six lines of writing, exhibits only a single word omitted; and his Letter to Lord Barrington is written with almost equal correctness. So much sustained accuracy is still more incompatible with the notion that those documents have been written from dictation direct from the author's mind, and not from any previously written draft. All of them are carefully, deliberately, and extremely well handwritten. Not one of them discovers any symptoms of the hand of the writer breaking down, whilst endeavouring to keep pace with the rapid words of an impatient speaker.

The inference, therefore, is, that the studied compositions of Junius have been copied from an original draft. He himself informs us of that fact. In his private Letter to Woodfall, Plate 49, he writes: "The inclosed, tho' begun "within these few days, has been greatly laboured. It is very correctly copied." I have no doubt whatever that the MSS. of Junius's Essay, his Dedication, his Preface, and his Letter to Lord Barrington, have all been copied from original drafts, and by his own hand, for the following reasons, viz.:—In the Essay sent to Mr. Grenville (Plates 7–12), the following words occur: "which never "*existed* were sold," the pen having been drawn through the word "existed" (see Plate 11, line 1). The words which follow that word appear, to my mind, to indicate that the writer, from an impulse of the moment, substituted them to express his ideas, in preference to the word struck out, and those which followed it, in his original draft. A similar change of mind is apparent at the beginning of the 11th line of the Essay (Plate 7). The corrections in those and in some other instances, have on the face of them, all the appearances of amendments, made by the author himself to his own copy, rather than of blunders committed by an amanuensis. Again, on the 9th line of Junius's Letter to Lord Barrington (Plate 21), the following words occur: "deliberate opinion

" of *the Secret* his Majesty's Secretary at War," the pen having been drawn through the words "the Secret." It is my belief that the words "*his Majesty's*" were not written in the original draft of this Letter, and that they occurred to the mind of Junius for the first time, whilst he was writing the words " the Secret." Such a supposition is, in my opinion, a far more reasonable probability than the supposition that the word " Majesty " made conspicuous by a capital letter, escaped the eye of an amanuensis.

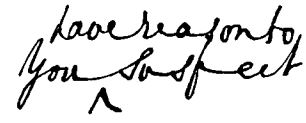
I will now direct the reader's attention to some omissions in the private Letters of Junius. In his Letter to Woodfall, No. 7, three interlineations occur, thus:—

must confess that ... ... between the 5th and 6th lines;

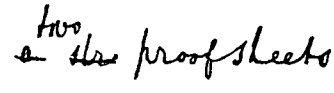
a better figure than ... ... between the 8th and 9th lines; and

you have reason to suspect ... ... between the 10th and 11th lines.

It is improbable that an amanuensis would make three such omissions in quick succession, or thus servilely copy interlineations made in an original draft. It is further remarkable that in the last of those interlineations the words "you suspect" are joined together, as also the words interlined "have reason to," agreeing in that respect with an inveterate habit of Francis, but in no instance practised by Lady Temple, as shown in the following facsimile:—



Of course, it is within the bounds of possibility that those omissions might have been made by an amanuensis whilst writing either from dictation or from a draft copy; but such a possibility can hardly be extended to another instance which occurs at the beginning of the 8th line of Junius's private Letter to Woodfall, Plate 72, wherein there are two erasures in succession of such a nature as to indicate indecision rather than inattention, as in the following facsimile:—



Those two erasures and the word substituted bear on the face of them all the indications of having been made by the hand of the person whose mind indited the matter written.

In the manuscript of a note to page 104 of the Proof Sheets in the British Museum, the following phrase occurs:—"What does it avail the absurd *Tendency* "contrivance," the pen having been drawn through the word "Tendency." In accounting for this alteration, we have to decide between two alternatives, viz.: Was the word "*Tendency*" inadvertently substituted for the word "*contrivance*" by an amanuensis whilst transcribing from an original draft? or was the word "*contrivance*" mindfully, and after deliberate consideration, substituted for the word "*Tendency*" by the author whilst writing his own note? If we exclude the theory of dictation, the first of those two alternatives cannot, in my opinion, be reasonably entertained. If the latter be accepted, then it must be admitted that all the MSS. of Junius have been written by his own hand, for all of them are obviously in one and the same handwriting. If, however, we return to the theory that the note in question may have been written by an amanuensis from dictation, then we are almost bound to assume that the two notes, of which facsimiles are given in Plates 100 and 113, and all the additions, corrections, marks, and erasures in Plates 91–93, together with others almost innumerable in the original Proof Sheets, in the British Museum, have also been written and made from dictation, necessarily involving much tedious, special, precise, and endless instruction, in order to effect them. Such a cumbersome process could hardly have been submitted to either by an author or by his amanuensis. If, on the other hand, we concede the reasonable inference that some of these, at least, are in the handwriting of Junius then we must admit all have been handwritten by him, unless it can be shown that the hands of two different persons are discernible in them.

Excluding some occasional private technical memoranda by the printer on the Proof Sheets, no other handwriting than that of Junius is discernible in any of the Junian MSS. except the *bonâ fide* and undisguised hand of Sir Philip Francis, which I have already identified in the writing of the date, 5. July. 1769. in Plate 95, also in that of other dates obliterated in the Proof Sheets, photo-lithographed in Plates 91–93 and 94–98, likewise in some other instances which have not been photo-lithographed.[1]

[1] See pages 129–132.

Revisions in the Junian MSS.

XXXII. Junius does not appear to have been over careful on all occasions either in correcting or in copying his MSS., nor does he appear to have devoted much time to making revisions. This is manifested in the numerous instances of omitted words in his writing. No less than thirty instances are pointed out in the 3rd volume of the 'Grenville Papers,' at page cxcvi. The following assertion made by Mr. Smith on the next page (cxcvii) somewhat surprises me, viz.:—"In the two following instances it is evident that the alterations "were subsequently made by the Author himself:" *i.e.* according to Mr. Smith's theory, by Lord Temple.

The alterations to which reference is made occur on the 8th and 14th lines of a note written on the Proof Sheet, Plate 100.

If I correctly understand Mr. Smith, he considers it evident that the words "*lamented by*" and "*in general*," comprised in those alterations, are in the handwriting of Lord Temple. Now I discover in neither of those alterations any reasonable point of identity with his hand, nor any ground upon which to justify a suspicion that they have been made by any other hand than that which wrote the whole of the note in which they occur. Taken together with other alterations to which I have already directed attention, they confirm me in my opinion that no amanuensis was employed to write the Junian MSS. That question, however, can hardly be proved scientifically. In attempting to deal with it, I have, perhaps, travelled out of my proper sphere of enquiry, and must leave its further pursuit to the reader, aided by the few imperfect observations upon it which I have submitted for his consideration. It is for me, not to determine whether Junius did, or did not, employ an amanuensis, but to show who did, and who did not, handwrite his MSS. The primary object of my Report on Sir Philip Francis has been to prove who did handwrite them, and the chief object of the present investigation is to show that certain persons did not handwrite them.

The Handwriting of other Competitors for the Junian Hand.

XXXIII. I may now be excused making a few observations on the handwriting of other persons who have been put forward as having handwritten the Junian MSS. Specimens of the handwriting of some of these, viz. Hugh Boyd,

Horne Tooke, Gerard Hamilton, and Charles Lee, are given in Woodfall's 'Junius'; two specimens of Charles Lee's writing are also given in 'Girdleston's Facts, &c.' published in 1813; a specimen of Mrs. Dayrolle's handwriting is given in 'Junius and his Works,' published in 1850; a specimen of Dr. Wilmot's handwriting is given in his Life, published by Mrs. O. W. Serres in 1813; and a specimen of Mr. De Lolme's handwriting is given in 'Arguments and Facts,' published by Dr. Busby in 1816. All these have been photo-lithographed, and are bound up in this volume, together with photo-lithographed copies from original letters, written by Edmund Burke, Thomas, second Lord Lyttelton, and Charles Lloyd.

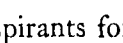
I do not propose to discuss the handwriting of each of those persons, either separately or minutely, but shall, in the first instance, confine myself as much as possible to such points as are applicable generally to all or to several of them collectively, as the case may be. I will then notice some points which distinguish exclusively the handwriting of one or other only of those persons. In so doing, I shall have to recapitulate certain discrepancies in some of the handwritings upon which I have already incidentally remarked in my Report on Sir Philip Francis, where I found it necessary to introduce them, in order to give validity to the agreement of Francis's hand with that of Junius on certain points, which otherwise might have appeared to be of questionable importance.

Upon an examination of the specimens of the several competitors for the Junian hand, to which reference has been made (all that have come under my notice, except one by Mr. Greatrakes, which I shall notice separately)—

1. I observe that seven of those competitors, like Lady Temple and Lord George Sackville, have invariably formed the letter *r* with its shoulder to the right side only of the letter;[1] and although Mr. Burke, Lord Lyttelton, and Mr. De Lolme have in a few instances formed that letter with its shoulder to the left, not one of them has formed it distinctly, in a manner that will bear a satisfactory comparison with any of the numerous and varied formations by Junius, as exhibited in Plates D and E. In the specimen of Mr. Burke's writing (Plate 233), barely seven letters *r* have shoulders to the left, none of which are distinctly defined, and some are of a doubtful character, whilst about twenty-five appear to have shoulders to the right. In the specimens of Lord Lyttelton's writing (Plates 225–228 and 228A), not more than twenty-eight letters *r* have shoulders to the left, all of which, like

[1] See page 14.

those in Mr. Burke's specimen, are more or less undefined, whilst about ninety-four have shoulders to the right (also imperfectly formed). Mr. De Lolme appears to have been still more reluctant to write the letter *r* with its shoulder to the left. In the specimen of his writing (Plate 264), not more than four letters out of forty-one can be said to be formed in that manner; and in no instance is there a letter with a well formed shoulder. Thus all three of those writers have given a preponderating preference to a letter with a shoulder formed to its right side, whereas both Junius and Francis gave a balance considerably in favour of a letter with its shoulder to the left. In the facsimiles of the Junian MSS. bound up in this volume, the letter *r* is formed with its shoulder to the left in 1817 instances, and with its shoulder to the right in 1450 instances; and in Francis's Letters that letter is formed with its shoulder to the left in 1922 instances, and with its shoulder to the right in 1328 instances: the proportion of letters having shoulders to the left being somewhat greater in Francis's writing than in that of Junius. But, if we take the instances of a letter *r* with its shoulder to the left and to the right side of the letter in the Junian MSS. written in the three years 1768–70, and compare them with those in the Junian MSS. written in the three years 1771–3, when Junius was more relax in disguising his hand, we shall find in the latter period that a letter *r* with its shoulder to the left predominates even more than in the natural hand of Francis. Thus in the former period Junius has written *r* with its shoulder to the left 564 times, and with its shoulder to the right 834 times; whereas in the latter period he has written *r* with its shoulder to the left 1253 times, and with its shoulder to the right 616 times only.

2. Then, again, although all the rival competitors to Francis for the Junian hand have in the specimens of their writing habitually formed the letter *r* with its shoulder to the right, the specimens of Hugh Boyd's and Horne Tooke's writing alone exhibit a letter having a well marked shoulder, thus:  .

It is inconceivable, therefore, that either of those ten aspirants for the Junian hand, of whom seven have invariably formed the letter *r* with shoulders to the right side only of the letter, and the three others have almost as habitually formed it in the same manner, should have written the word "are" sixty-nine times[1] and the word "were" nineteen times[2] in the Junian MSS. without having once committed an inadvertency by writing those words with a letter *r* having its

[1] See page 18.

[2] See page 18.

shoulder to the right, agreeably with their inveterate habit of forming that letter (see examples from Junius and from Francis in Plate G).

3. Mrs. Dayrolle habitually crosses double *t* (*tt*) in a very conspicuous manner, viz. with a loop embracing both letters, thus: , and, occasionally, single *t* in a similar manner. Mr. Burke and Lord Lyttelton both cross double *t* in that manner, but not single *t;* and, *vice versâ*, Charles Lloyd occasionally crosses single *t* in the same manner, but not double *t*. Boyd has the remarkable habit of crossing two letters *t* when they are separated in the same word in a like manner, but not double *t* (see the words "fortunate" and "little" on the 5th and 11th lines of his Letter, Plate 235). These modes of crossing the letter *t* could hardly have been excluded from the Junian MSS. during a period of five years if either of those writers had handwritten them; but there is no single instance of it in Junius.

4. Lord Lyttelton, Charles Lee, and Charles Lloyd, all occasionally, like Lady Temple, form the letter *f* like a long *s*, thus: . I should expect to find many instances of that letter in the Junian MSS. if they had been the production of either of those persons. Yet although Junius formed the letter *f* in a variety of ways (see Plates H and I), no instance of their particular letter occurs in his hand.

5. Both Mrs. Dayrolle and Lord Lyttelton have abbreviated the word "*would*" thus: "*wou'd;*" and Lord Lyttelton has abbreviated the word "*could*" in a similar manner, thus: "*cou'd;*" whereas Junius has in no instance abbreviated those words in the same manner. Many instances of the word "would," and a few of the word "could," occur abbreviated in the Junian MSS.; in all such cases they are invariably written thus: "*wo^{d}*" "*co^{d}*"

6. Mr. Boyd, Gerrard Hamilton, Lord Lyttelton, and Charles Lloyd, like Lady Temple, have in the specimens of their writing invariably written the word "and" in the common abbreviated manner; and Horne Tooke, Mrs. Dayrolle, and Charles Lee, like Lord George Sackville, have in no instance abbreviated that word; whereas in the Junian hand it is repeatedly written in both manners (see pages 74–76).

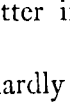
7. Mr. Boyd, Mrs. Dayrolle, Charles Lee, and Dr. Wilmot, have occasionally, like Lady Temple and Lord G. Sackville, written the præterite or participles of verbs with an apostrophe as a substitute for the mute *e;* but no such

instance occurs in the Junian MSS. It is to my mind in the highest degree improbable that such a habit could have been altogether excluded, from the very numerous instances of like words which necessarily occur in so large an amount of writing as is presented in the Junian MSS. I have failed to mark a single instance either in the Junian writing or in the Letters of Sir Philip Francis.

8. Mr. Burke, Boyd, Gerrard Hamilton, Mrs. Dayrolle, Dr. Wilmot, De Lolme, and Charles Lloyd, have all, like Lady Temple,[1] invariably written the letter *d* in the curled form, thus: ; consequently, in their writing, it occurs so formed at the beginnings of words. In the specimens of the Junian hand bound up in this volume a similar formation occurs nine times only at the beginnings of words, although in other positions it is of frequent occurrence. In five of those instances, however, it is joined to the next word preceding it (see page 34).

9. But, further, Junius joined two, three, and four, and sometimes five, words together. There is scarcely a page of his writing without an instance. In his Letter to Lord Barrington, consisting of only two pages of writing, sixty such instances occur (see Plates 21 and 22); but no single instance of a junction of words occurs in any of the specimens of the writing now under observation, except in those of Mr. Burke, De Lolme, and Charles Lloyd. On these three handwritings I will now make a few remarks separately:—

XXXIV. Charles Lloyd not only joins two words together in his Letter (Plates 266 and 267), but he also terminates the letter *e* at the ends of words in Junius's peculiar manner, thus: ; and he forms the letter *y* both with straight and with looped tails, and doubtless participates with Francis in some other similarities to the Junian hand. But then, in addition to the discrepancies from that hand which I have already pointed out in the specimen of his writing, there are others of considerable importance, of which the five following are the most prominent, viz.:—

1. Although Charles Lloyd forms the letter *y* in two of the manners of Junius, he also forms that letter in a very distinctive manner, thus:  , and so habitually that it could hardly have been excluded from the Junian MSS.

[1] See page 147.

if he had written them, but there is no instance in those documents of his particular formation of the letter *y*.

The word "you" occurs four times in the 1st page of his Letter, Plate 266, on lines 1, 11, 17, and 18, and three times in the 2nd page, on lines 2, 9, and 11, with a letter *y* formed in that distinctive manner. But, further, in none of those instances is the letter *y* written above the line of writing, or made conspicuously the largest letter of that word, as frequently written by Junius (see Plates R and S).

2. The letter *f*, formed thus: , is also a very distinctive feature of Charles Lloyd's writing. It occurs formed in that manner no less than fifteen times in his Letter (Plates 266 and 267), thirteen of which are in the word "of." There is no clear instance in that specimen of a letter *f* written singly with an upstroke taken from the bottom of the letter to the *right* side; it is invariably carried from the left side, forming thereby a long *s* instead of a letter *f*; therefore it is extremely improbable that he could have totally excluded such a habit from a feigned hand practised by him during so long a time as the Junian period. Of the numerous and various formations of the letter *f* indulged in by Junius, I have not observed a single instance of Charles Lloyd's distinctive formation of that letter. Francis formed the first letter of double *f* in a similar manner, but in no instance single *f*.

3. The letter *h* occurs no less than fifty times in the specimen of Charles Lloyd's writing, but scarcely a single instance presents that letter formed with a loop, thus: . He could not have written that letter habitually with well formed loops, as it is in the Junian MSS., unless he had previously trained his hand to such a formation. The letters *h* in Junius's Dedication (Plate 17) are evidently formed in a manner natural to the hand of the writer of that document.

4. Although Charles Lloyd commences the character to signify the word "and" with an up-stroke to the left, thus: , as Junius occasionally did, he has in all the nine instances of that abbreviation in his Letter written it below the line of writing, like Edmund Burke and Gerard Hamilton, but contrary to the almost invariable practice of Junius; and, independently of that circumstance, its form is totally different from that of any instance in Junius (see page 76).

5. Charles Lloyd has formed the capital letter *Q*, in the word "Quarters,"

on the 9th line of his Letter, in the orthodox manner. No such formation occurs in Junius. He adopted the amplified small letter of Francis's hand (see Plate W, also the amplified letter *q* in "Question," Plate 23, No. 2, line 2).

XXXV. The handwriting of Mr. De Lolme appears to me to have as many pretensions as that of any rival competitor to Francis for the Junian hand. He fairly competes with Francis in Junius's inveterate habit of joining words together, and, like those writers, joins as many as three and four words together; and he also terminates the letter *e* at the ends of words somewhat after the manner of Junius, thus: . His terminations, however, are bolder than Junius's, and in no instances do they partake of the minute character of the specimens exhibited in page 53.

The long *s*, thus: , which occurs so frequently at the beginnings of words in the Junian MSS. may be regarded by many as a natural habit of De Lolme, and not as a subterfuge by some other writer. But then De Lolme, in his Letter (Plates 264 and 265), has three times written the long *s* in the middle of a word, of which there is no instance in Junius, except in the case of double *s* (see the words "reason," line 3, "please," line 7, and "question," line 16). It is extremely improbable that he should have retained that formation of the letter *s* in one of its positions, and have excluded it in the other, without committing a single inadvertency during a period of five years.

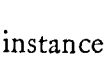
De Lolme is the only competitor whose writing exhibits the word "*in*" written in the distinctive manner noticed in pages 47 and 51. Two instances occur in a small specimen of his writing in Dr. Busby's work. As that specimen consists of no more than forty words, it has not been photo-lithographed. I observe, however, in the same specimen, that the word "the" is abbreviated "*y^e*" three times in four instances of that word. I may therefore remark that when Junius abbreviated "would," "*wo^d.*;" "should," "*sh^d*;" "although," "*tho'*;" and "your," "*y^r*," some instances of the word "the" abbreviated "*y^e*" would in all probability have appeared in his MSS. if that abbreviation had been natural to his hand. There is no instance of such an abbreviation in Junius.

Then, further, in addition to the discrepancies from Junius which I have already pointed out in De Lolme's writing, are the following, viz.:—

1. The letter *h* occurs upwards of fifty times in the specimen of his writing, but in no instance is it formed with a loop, thus: ; whereas Junius formed it in two distinct manners—with and without a loop—but he excluded the looped form under special circumstances, agreeably to an inveterate habit of Francis, as pointed out in pages 11 and 12.

2. In the specimen of De Lolme's writing there are six words spelt with double *l* (*ll*). Not one of the letters *l* in those words is formed with a loop, and, except in one instance, the two *l*'s are of the same height. Three instances occur in the word "will;" in all of these the two letters *l* are of the same height, in opposition to an inveterate practice of Junius when writing words ending in double *l* (see page 40).

3. De Lolme has, in four or five instances, written the letter *d* in a very distinctive manner, thus: , disjoined from the letter following it. It is evidently a distinguishing characteristic of his writing. It is extremely improbable that he should have in no single instance committed an inadvertency, by forming that letter in his accustomed manner, whilst writing in a feigned hand, during so long a time as the Junian period. There is no instance of such a formation in all the Junian MSS. that I have examined.

4. Although De Lolme forms the letter *k* in the word "kept," on the 5th line of his Letter (Plate 264), in one of the two manners of Junius, in another instance, viz. on the 4th line, he forms that letter in the word "work" thus:  , of which there is no instance in Junius (see pages 41–44).

5. De Lolme, like Lady Temple,[1] habitually keeps the first down-stroke of the letter *p* to the same level as the smaller letters, thus: , whereas Junius frequently extends it as much above as below that level, thus: (see the words "Pamphlet" and "copies" in De Lolme's Letter, Plate 264, lines 1 and 6).

6. De Lolme's mode of forming the capital letter *S*, by commencing it at the bottom of the letter, thus: , is also a distinctive character of his writing

[1] See page 152.

(see the following instances in his Letter, viz.: "Spilsbury" and "Snow," Plate 264, line 8, "Sepulchre's," line 9, "September," line 11, and "Shillings," Plate 265, line 3). There is no instance of such a formation of that letter in any of the Junian MSS.

7. De Lolme has omitted to cross the letter *t* with an independent line thrice only in fifty instances wherein that letter occurs at the beginnings and in the middles of words. No page of the Junian MSS. exhibits such persevering attention to that letter. On the contrary, Junius was extremely remiss in giving an independent crossing to his letters *t*, especially at the beginnings of words, except in the case of double *t*. In his third Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plates 5 and 6), six letters *t* only out of a hundred which occur at the beginnings and in the middles of words are crossed with an independent line. He, however, and Francis, like De Lolme, invariably crossed double *t* with an independent line (see page 33).

8. De Lolme's formation of the letter *x* is extremely characteristic, thus: , in the two instances of its occurrence in his Letter (Plate 264)—viz. in the words "next," lines 3 and 7, and "fix," line 14. Francis, on rare occasions, formed that letter almost as conspicuously as De Lolme, but then he also frequently formed it in the two manners of Junius, thus:—

JUNIUS.			FRANCIS.		
55.3		8.11	124.9		196.1

9. The numerals or figures of De Lolme hardly bear a nearer comparison with those of Junius than the figures of Lady Temple, of Lord George Sackville, of Charles Lee, or of Dr. Wilmot.

Lady Temple, I have observed in page 166, commences the figure 5 with a leading up-stroke. De Lolme commences the figure 4 in a similar manner, thus: , whereas both Junius and Francis commenced the figure 6 only in like manner (see page 83).

XXXVI. In the specimen of Mr. Burke's writing in Plate 233, the words "should" and "would" each occurs twice. His mode of writing *ld* in those words is in strong contrast to the practice of Junius, and forcibly illustrates the importance of the observations which I have made in respect of Francis's agreement with Junius on that point, in pages 40, 41, and 150.

Burke also connects, like Lord G. Sackville, the letters *s* and *h* in the words "should" and "shall," contrary to the practice of Junius (see p. 14).

There is no instance of a letter *s* carried below the line in the specimen of Burke's writing; and although he forms the letter *f* in various ways, not one of his formations of that letter represents those of Junius, exhibited in Plates H and I.

The Datings and Openings of Letters by various Candidates for the Junian Hand.

XXXVII. I will now make a few observations on the datings and openings of Letters as they appear in the specimens of the several candidates for the Junian hand now under consideration. With regard to these vital characteristics of the Junian hand, see page 121.

Burke has dated his Letter (Plate 233) at the close of it. It is re-dated by Francis at the head of the Letter, and that dating is written and punctuated agreeably to the methodical manner of Junius when noting dates (see page 174).

Boyd has also dated his Letter (Plate 234) at the foot of it. The name of the month is written before the numeral of the month, of which there is no instance in the Junian MSS.; and there are no figures of the year. The punctuation of that dating is altogether discordant from that of Junius's datings.

Mrs. Dayrolle has likewise dated her Letter (Plates 253, 254) at the end of it with the name of the month preceding the numeral of the month. The word "the," abbreviated "y^{e}," also follows the name of the month, of which there is no instance in the datings of Junius. There is no stop after the name of place, "London," after the figures of the year, or after the salutation "Dr Sir"

Thomas, second Lord Lyttelton, greatly neglects punctuation in his datings. Eleven Letters written by him in the possession of the present Lord Lyttelton, and another in the possession of William J. Thoms, Esq., have been placed in my hands. Two of these entire, and portions of three others, are photo-lithographed in Plates 255–258A. Subjoined are copies of the salutations and datings of all of them:—

1. Dear Uncle.

Mary-bon Sep^{r} $\frac{e}{y}$ 21st 1757

2. My dear Uncle.

(*Not dated.*)

3. (*No separate salutation.*) Naples y^e^ 11th of May.

4. My dear Uncle. Dijon y^e^ 15th of feb:

5. My dear Sir Richard. Turin the 19th of Nov—

6. Dear Sir. Mastricht 27th Novr 1771.

7. My dear Lord Leasowes y^e^ 26th June 1772

8. My dear Lord. Leasowes 27th June 1772

9. My dear Lord. Leasowes Jun 18: 1773
(*Date at the end of the Letter.*)

10. (*No separate salutation.*) Auley 28th October 1773
(*Date at the end of the Letter.*)

11. My dear Lord, Hill Street ye 9th June 1777
(*Dated at foot of the Letter.*)

Three of those datings are at foot of the Letters wherein they occur. Four of them have no stop of any kind, and a fifth has no other stop than

a dash after the figures of the year. One dating has only a colon after the name of the month; another has only a fullstop after the figures of the month; and a third has only a fullstop after the figures of the year. Of those eleven datings one only has as many as two stops, both of which are after abbreviations. In two of them the name of the month precedes the figures of the month, which precedence has been shown to have been obstinately and deliberately rejected both by Junius and Francis (see page 128). And although in seven instances the numerals precede the name of the month, as invariably written by Junius, in five of them "y^{e}" is prefixed to those numerals, of which, as already observed, there is no instance in the Junian hand. And again, although Lord Lyttelton has in seven instances placed, like Junius, a fullstop after the salutation of the correspondent, he has in one instance placed, like Boyd, a comma, and in another he has omitted a stop altogether, showing that he was not governed, like Junius, by one arbitrary rule only.

Charles Lee has, like Mrs. Dayrolle, written the name of the month with an addition, "y^{e}," before the figures of the month in the dating of his Letter (Plate 260), and there is only a fullstop after the figures of the year. He has, however, correctly represented Junius in placing a fullstop after the salutation "Sir."

De Lolme has dated his Letter at the foot of it. The name of the month is written before the figures of the month, and there is no stop after the figures of the year, or after the salutation "Sir."

Charles Lloyd has written the date of his Letter in two lines, of which there is no instance in the formal datings of Junius, and the only stop is a colon after the figures of the year. There is no stop after the salutation "Dear Sir."

Thus it appears that not one of the rival competitors to Sir Philip Francis for the Junian hand exhibits the dating of a single Letter complying with all the nine points of Junius's datings, as specified in page 121.

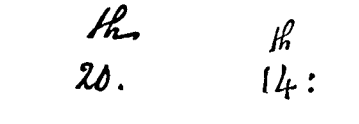
There is an independent point connected with Junius's datings upon which I have briefly observed in my Report on Sir Philip Francis. It is the position of the final letters *d* and *th* of the ordinals—second, fourth, ninth (see page 127). I will now remark further upon it, and will again refer to the datings of Francis and Lady Temple, whilst examining those of other candidates for the Junian hand.

An abbreviation *th*, after the numerals of the month, occurs in seven of the datings of Lord Lyttelton, but in neither of them is that abbreviation

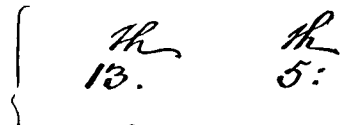
placed immediately over these numerals, as in the datings of Junius, and also in an overwhelming majority of those of Francis—a peculiarity which is rendered more striking from the fact that neither of them extended it to the abbreviation for the ordinal of "two" (second), nor employed more than a single letter (*d*) for that abbreviation (see page 127).

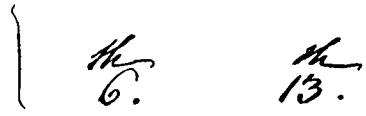
The following comparisons of all the instances of the abbreviation *th*, which occur in the extant datings of Junius, with three instances taken from those of Lord Lyttelton, and with eight taken from a number of similar instances in Francis's datings, illustrate this point:—

JUNIUS ... ...



FRANCIS ... ...





LORD LYTTELTON

Lady Temple is the only rival competitor to Francis whose datings which have come under my observation exhibit an instance of this peculiarity, but it happens once only in nine instances wherein the abbreviation *th* occurs in her datings, exhibited in page 173. Now its occurrence in a single instance out of nine cannot be regarded as a habit. The same peculiarity might happen as frequently in the datings of any other person. Francis has written *th* in the peculiar manner pointed out no less than thirty-four times in the fourty-five instances wherein that abbreviation occurs in the datings of his Letters in this volume. So large a proportion of instances cannot fairly be regarded otherwise than as an inveterate habit; and Junius, having, as shown in the preceding facsimiles, written *th* immediately over the numeral of the month in three instances out of four, very exactly reproduces Francis's proportion of this speciality.

The abbreviation *d*, occurs twice only in the formal datings of Junius's manuscript Letters, viz. in the dating of his first Letter to Lord Chatham (Plate 13), and in that of his second Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 3). In both of those instances the *d* is in the common form, but in the only two instances wherein that abbreviation occurs in dates quoted in sentences written by him, and which are in the Proof Sheets in the British Museum, he has written the *d* somewhat after Lady Temple's model.

These distinct applications of two different formations of the abbreviation *d* are in complete harmony with the practice of Francis. Four instances of that abbreviation occur in his formal datings of Letters (see Plates 144, 179, 212, 245). In three of those instances he has written the *d* in the common form, but in all the four instances wherein that abbreviation occurs in dates quoted in sentences in his Letters, he has formed the *d* as in the quoted dates of Junius; and I find upon reference to all his memoranda of datings in the Letter Book, the same rule is adhered to with equal regularity. Most of these have been copied in pages 176 and 177, and although not in facsimile, yet the positions of the abbreviations *d* and *th* have been represented as accurately as is practicable in type, as also those from Junius in pages 174 and 175.

But, further, in the two instances wherein the abbreviation *d* occurs in Junius's formal datings, he has in one instance used a fullstop and in the other a colon, but in his two quoted dates he has used no other than a fullstop. And so Francis, in the closest conformity with Junius, has in the four formal datings of Letters by him wherein that abbreviation occurs in two instances used a fullstop and in two instances a colon; but in all the four instances wherein the abbreviation *d* occurs in dates quoted in sentences in his Letters, he has in every instance used a fullstop only. The subjoined facsimiles from the datings of Junius and Francis respectively will assist to render the preceding observations intelligible:—

	JUNIUS.		FRANCIS.	
From formal datings of Letters				
From dates quoted in sentences ...				

The abbreviation *d* occurs twice only in Lady Temple's datings in page 173. In both instances it is in the curled form, agreeably with her constant practice of

forming that letter, and there is no stop after the abbreviation in either instance (see page 147).

The only persons involved in this question, whose Letters afford a sufficient induction from which an opinion may be formed as to their habitual mode of dating Letters, are Lady Temple, Lord Temple, Lord Lyttelton, and Sir Philip Francis. Neither the datings nor the salutations to the correspondent of either of the three first named exhibit a regular adherence to any particular set plan, either acquired or preconsidered, and all are conspicuous for their deficiency in stops, whilst those of Francis evince an unswerving tenacity to a deliberately studied methodical formula, the departures from which are extremely rare, and which consist of inadvertent omissions of a single point only, which is never repeated, and in no case of a subversion of that formula, the leading features of which are a profusion of fullstops, to the exclusion of all others except the colon only, under prescribed circumstances, and placing the figures of the month before, and not after it.

Francis adhered to his particular formula not only in the formal datings of Letters; he carried out its requirements in dates of all kinds, agreeing in a remarkable manner with that systematic plan which so distinguishes the datings of Junius from those of all other writers.

XXXVIII. With regard to the specimen of Dr. Wilmot's writing (Plate 262), I have my doubts as to its genuineness, and entertain a strong suspicion that it is altogether a fabrication by Mrs. O. W. Serres, whom I know to have been an accomplished forger, having had numerous essays of her skill pass through my hands.

In that specimen, the letter *t* is written in almost every instance where it occurs, with an up-stroke turned up at the bottom of the letter; and the letter *r* in all the five instances where it occurs is written with a clumsily formed well defined shoulder. No similar instances of those formations occur in the specimen of Dr. Wilmot's writing in Plate 263. The letter *e* in the word "the" in the third memorandum, Plate 262, is a clumsy attempt to imitate Dr. Wilmot's Greek formation of that letter. I should require evidence of similar departures from Dr. Wilmot's usual habits of writing in undoubted specimens of his hand to convince me of the authenticity of that page. The two lines commencing with the words, "I have this day completed," have evidently been tampered with. A very little penetration soon discovers the meaning and intention of the trifling and scribbling to the left of those lines—evidently intended to conceal the

letters *J*....*s* written immediately beneath the words "I have." The letter *I* there written is carried considerably below the line of writing, and, but for its form, stands, as probably intended, for a letter *J*. But if Mrs. Serres had the curiosity to inspect Woodfall's 'Junius,' which had only been published a few months before her volume, and in which she must naturally have been interested, she could hardly have failed to observe, in Plate 1 of the 1st volume, Junius's name thrice written with the initial *J*, like a letter *I*, *upon* the line of writing, and not carried *below* it. It is written in the same manner in the Letter to Garrick, a copy of which is given by Woodfall in Plate 3, vol. iii., and there again probably met the eyes of Mrs. Serres (see Plates 32 and 64).

It might therefore have been desirable to show that Dr. Wilmot wrote "Junius" in the same manner as Junius, viz. with an initial letter *I*, upon the line of writing. Be that as it may, *Iu—s* has been re-written at the end of the 1st line, with the addition of a letter *u* and a dash, evidently intended to be read with little difficulty as "Junius." For what reason should Junius have made the abbreviation of his name more easily to be deciphered? If Mrs. Serres had attentively examined Woodfall's Specimen No. 40, printed on the same plate as the Letter to Garrick, she would have observed that Junius abbreviated his name "Jun^{s}" with a dot following a letter *n*, and with *s* written above the line of writing, and not with a dash following a letter *u*, and with the *s* upon the line as she has written it. Woodfall, however, gave Mrs. Serres no other opportunity of seeing in what manner Junius abbreviated his name, otherwise it might have appeared re-written, as in the first instance, with two letters only, *J*^{s}, but with the improvement of the letter *s*, written as Junius wrote it, viz. above the line of writing (see Plate 59, line 12; Plate 73, lines 7 and 11, and Plate 76, line 14). Similar defects to those already pointed out occur in the writing of the half-written word *I—s*, in the first memorandum on Plate 262, and again in the same word where fully written in the second memorandum. The latter is effaced in such a manner that, with the aid of the clues given in the first and third of those memoranda, Junius's identity was intended to be established beyond doubt.

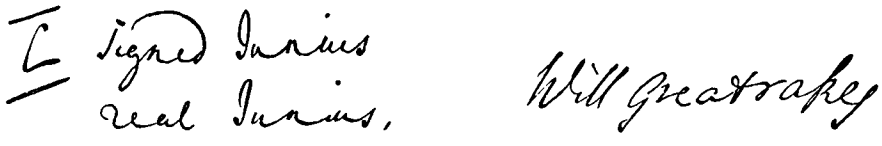
The transparency of these artifices becomes more clearly apparent in the fact that the datings of two of those memoranda are antedated several months before Junius wrote under that signature which afterwards made him famous.

XXXIX. My attention has been directed to a passage in Britton's 'Junius

Elucidated,' published in 1848, wherein an attempt is made to prove that William Greatrakes, first a barrister, and afterwards an officer in the Army, as the amanuensis of Colonel Barré, handwrote the Junian MSS. The passage is as follows:—"I have only to add on this part of the subject that the signature, "'Will Greatrakes,' engraved in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' (Dec. 1813), "bears at least as much resemblance to the handwriting of Junius as that of Sir "Philip Francis, or any of the other candidates."

I am induced to take notice of the speculative pretensions of this rival competitor to Francis for the Junian hand, because the amount of evidence which has been put forward to justify those pretensions contrasts so strongly with that which has been set forth to justify the claims of Sir Philip Francis. In the one case it may fairly be said that there is a minimum, and in the other a maximum, amount of evidence. I readily admit that a minimum amount of conclusive and irrefutable evidence is preferable to any amount of doubtful and refutable evidence; but it appears to me that the latter qualifications are applicable to the minimum amount of evidence put forth by Mr. Britton.

He appears to have formed his opinion solely upon a comparison of two or three facsimiles, which had been engraved thirty-seven years before his publication on the Junian question appeared, in a plate facing page 545 in the magazine referred to in the passage already quoted. Of those facsimiles the following are accurate copies:—



In page 547, in the same magazine, the following is printed in a note:—"It "is much to be wished that some original Letter of Mr. Greatrakes could be "obtained for publication."—"EDIT."

It is, therefore, fair to presume that, if Mr. Britton had possessed any further data upon which he formed his opinion than that afforded in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' he would have printed it in his publication—unless he had no faith in it, or, what is more probable, unless he, like many others, had little or no faith at all in comparisons of handwriting. For, although he appears to have possessed

so small a specimen of the handwriting of Mr. Greatrakes, he had of the handwriting of Francis (whose claims he rejects), and also of that of Junius, quite as much as I should have required to form a very decided opinion, viz. those in 'Junius Identified,' and those in Woodfall's 'Junius,' both of which publications he quotes. Yet he does not appear to have studied either of them attentively, otherwise he might have observed, in 'Junius Identified,' two instances of Francis's initials, *P. F.* (see Plate 185), written between two lines as the *C* of Junius in the plate in the magazine to which he refers, and in seven instances in Woodfall's specimens of Junius's handwriting. For what reason the initial *C* of Junius is selected to compare with Mr. Greatrakes's signature, I cannot comprehend, as there is no such letter in his name, neither is his signature written between two lines.

If Mr. Britton had attentively studied the specimens of Junius's handwriting in Woodfall's 'Junius,' he might have discovered the following objections to the identity of Mr. Greatrakes's signature with the hand of Junius, viz.:—

1. There is no instance in Junius of a capital letter *W*, formed like that letter, and connected with another letter, in the same manner as in Wm. Greatrakes's signature.

2. The two letters *l* are made of nearly equal length, and are completely at variance with Junius's characteristic formation of double *l* (see pages 39 and 40).

3. There is no instance in Junius of a capital letter *G* formed as in Wm. Greatrakes's signature.

4. There is a break after the first *e*, and after the second *r*, in that signature; but there are no breaks in the two signatures of Junius in the preceding facsimiles. Junius rarely lifts his pen before making a letter *a* in the middle of a word, except when it is preceded by a letter *s* or by a capital letter.

5. Neither of the letters *a* in that signature resembles the letter *a* in the word "real" in the preceding facsimiles, or any of the characteristic and habitual formations of that letter by Junius, as exhibited in pages 65–67.

6. There is no instance in Junius of a letter *t* crossed in a similar manner to that in Wm. Greatrakes's signature.

7. The two letters *r* in "Greatrakes" are totally unlike the letter *r* in "real" in those facsimiles; they are, indeed, formed as Junius sometimes formed that letter at the ends of words; but, as I have already shown in pages 15 and 16, and in Plates A to G, that Junius formed the letter *r* in almost every manner in which it can be formed, the *r* therefore of every writer may be assimilated to some one or other of his numerous formations.

8. So also the letter *s* in "Greatrakes," although like one of Junius's numerous formations of that letter, as exhibited in page 63, is unlike the letters *s* in the two words "Junius," in the preceding facsimiles. Yet those words, of all others, have been selected because of their supposed resemblance to the handwriting of Mr. Greatrakes.

It is evident, therefore, that Mr. Britton did not found his opinion upon any similarity in the formations of letters in those facsimiles, and probably, like many others, he disregarded the comparisons of letters and other minutiæ which Mr. John Taylor put forward in 'Junius Identified,' to establish the identity of Sir Philip Francis's hand with that of the Junian MSS.

Mr. Britton gives no reasons whatever for his opinion. Upon what he has founded it, I am quite at a loss to conjecture. The objections which I have enumerated against his hypothesis render it impossible for me to entertain it seriously for a single moment.

In page 91 of Mr. Britton's publication, following some general observations against the handwritings of Sir Philip Francis and other candidates for the Junian hand, he expresses the following opinion on the handwriting of Junius. "But, "having seen the papers in Mr. Woodfall's possession, I have arrived at a "conclusion which the facsimiles would equally lead to: that whoever was the "penman, the writing was his natural hand, and not in any way disguised." Therefore Mr. Britton regards the specimen of Junius's handwriting in the preceding specimen, and consequently the whole of the Letter from which that specimen is taken, viz. Junius to Woodfall, No. 8, Plate 32, as in the undisguised hand of Mr. Greatrakes. Consistently with that opinion, the writing

the pronoun *I*, and commencing sentences, with small instead of capital letters in the Junian MSS., must be regarded as natural habits of the writer. A comparison of the addresses alone of the Letters to Woodfall, beginning with that in Plate 31, is sufficient to decide the question of disguise.

XL. In direct opposition to Mr. Britton, Mr. William Cramp, in 'Junius and his Works,' published in 1851, three years after Mr. Britton's publication, expresses as his opinion, in which I entirely concur, that "the handwriting of "Junius is evidently greatly disguised."

Mr. Cramp, unlike Mr. Britton, has made more than a superficial examination of the two handwritings which he endeavours to assimilate. For, in reference to the handwriting of a Letter by Mrs. Dayrolle, a facsimile of which he gives in his publication, and which has been photo-lithographed in this volume in Plates 253 and 254, he asserts that, "in Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter, the "distinctive marks of Junius's handwriting are strongly developed:" but he does not specify any one of those distinctive marks. He, however, appears to have been aware of one, at least, of the leading features of the Junian hand, viz. the Junction of Words. In continuation of the preceding quotation, he says, "although there is more space between the words, and a greater freedom than is "to be found in some of the autographs of Junius, yet her Letter contains all "the elements for forming itself, by care and practice, into the hand of the "private Letters to Woodfall." Now I demur to those observations. In the first place, there is quite as much space between the words in many of the pages of the Junian MSS. as in Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter, so that in that point the two handwritings agree instead of disagree. But there is this difference between the two hands, which probably Mr. Cramp intended his observations to explain, viz. Mrs. Dayrolle has in no instance in her Letter joined two or more words together; whereas Junius, notwithstanding the great spaces which separate his words, occasionally connects two words so spaced. See the words "you shall," and "on Monday," in his Letter to Woodfall, Plate 47; see also the spacing and the junction of the words "no man," Plate 1, line 6; "you of," Plate 2, line 3, and "you will," Plate 2, lines 5 and 6; also similar instances in his Letter, Plate 37. With regard to the remainder of Mr. Cramp's observations, I cannot regard the frequent disjunctions, not only of syllables, but of letters, which are so habitual in Mrs. Dayrolle's writing as evidences of superior freedom, neither can I regard either those features of her writing, or the puerile

formations of some of her letters, as elements out of which the fluent hand of Junius could well be formed: see, in Plate 253, the word "myself," line 1; "unwelcome" and "encloses," line 2; "likewise," line 3, and "occurrence," line 10.

It is true that Junius might easily have either joined, or avoided to join, words together, if he had known which of those habits was distinctive of his handwriting; and he might, with little difficulty, have either joined, or disjoined, all the letters of his words, if he had been mindful to disguise his hand by either of those means; but he would have found it extremely difficult to consider, letter by letter, in what way he formed his letters in his natural hand, and it would have been almost impossible for him to avoid committing inadvertencies of those formations when writing rapidly in a feigned hand: hence the advantage of comparisons of letters separately.

Mr. Cramp is the only person, besides the author of 'Junius Identified,' who has attempted to investigate the Junian Autographs by striking at the root of the handwriting in an analysis, separately, of the elements or letters of which it is composed; the only sound method, in my humble judgment, especially when followed up by an investigation of other more subtle points. Some, I know from experience, regard such means of identifying handwriting as extremely unsatisfactory, and probably prefer the less troublesome method of Mr. Britton and others.

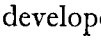
Mr. Cramp, however, identifies the handwriting of Mrs. Dayrolle in the Junian MSS. by a comparison of four letters only. He writes, "The limited "number of Mrs. Dayrolle's letters will not admit a minute comparison, but, as "far as single letters and words can be compared with the Autographs of Junius, "the resemblance is complete, and in many cases the identity of handwriting is "very remarkable—such as in the formation of the letters *a*, *s*, *p*, *w*, et cetera, "and in the words 'have,' 'be,' 'well,' 'are,' 'conspicuous,' and many others "printed in the table of comparisons."

With regard to the first of those observations, the single specimen of Mrs. Dayrolle's writing would enable me to make as minute a comparison with the more numerous specimens of the Junian hand as that which I have made by a comparison of the single specimen of Junius to Woodfall (No. 6, Plate 28) with the more numerous specimens of Francis's writing: see pages 90–98; and it has enabled me to form a very decided opinion against the claims of Mrs. Dayrolle to the Junian hand.

With regard to Mr. Cramp's conclusions, although he adopts the right method to arrive at them, yet he does not apply the right principles to the following out of that method. He mentions four letters and five words, the resemblance of which in the autographs of Junius and Mrs. Dayrolle, he asserts, is "complete," and "in many instances" the identity of handwriting "very remark-"able." But he does not specify any peculiarity whatever in the formation of, or any fact connected with, either of those letters and words in Junius which is distinctive of Mrs. Dayrolle's writing.

Some letters in the Junian MSS. are, doubtless, in resemblance to others in Mrs. Dayrolle's Letters; but they are as well represented in the writing of other persons. I consider that three of the letters which Mr. Cramp mentions, viz. the *a*, the *s*, and the *p*, in the word "happens," in the specimen of Horne Took's writing (Plate 236, line 5), are more nearly in resemblance to Junius's formations of those letters than any instances to be found in Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter (Plate 253).

The letter *w* mentioned by Mr. Cramp is by no means a distinctive feature of the Junian hand. But Junius's formation of that letter is also better represented in the words "wonder" and "well," on the 6th line of the specimen of Horne Took's writing, and still better in the word "wife," on the 14th line of Lady Temple's Letter (Plate 217), than in any instance in Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter.

It has been shown, in page 65, that a formation of the letter *a*, compounded of the letters *e* and *i*, thus: , is of frequent occurrence in the writing of both Junius and Francis; in page 139, that another formation, compounded of the letters *c* and *i*, is frequent in Lady Temple's writing; and, in page 143, that a similar formation, more fully developed, thus:  , is frequent in Lord George Sackville's writing. Now a different formation from either of the preceding, compounded of the letters *o* and *i*, connected in a remarkable manner, thus: , is frequent in and characterises the handwriting of Mrs. Dayrolle; and although Junius's formation of the letter *a*, compounded of the letters *e* and *i*, occurs sometimes in the middle of a word in her Letter, as also in those of Lord G. Sackville, De Lolme, and others, yet in no instance does Junius's formation commence a word in Mrs. Dayrolle's writing. All the letters *a* in the fourteen words which begin with that letter, written by her in Plates 253 and 254, are formed in her distinctive manner. In no instance does she commence a word with an enlarged letter formed in the distinctive manner of Junius, exhibited in Plate P. On the

other hand, there is a general absence from the Junian MSS. of Mrs. Dayrolle's characteristic formation of the letter *a*, a circumstance which leads my mind to an opposite conclusion to that arrived at by Mr. William Cramp.

The letter *p*, mentioned by Mr. Cramp, occurs eight times in Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter. It is distinguished by the short leading stroke with which it is commenced, and by the small proportion of the letter which extends above the range of the other letters compared with that below the line of writing, thus: . I do not recognise this formation of the letter *p* in Junius. When he substituted the orthodox formation for his disguised letter, he habitually formed it after the following model, thus: . See the letters *p* in the word "newspaper," in Junius, Plate 25, line 14, and compare them with those in the same word in Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter (Plate 253, line 11). See also pages 49, 59, and 153.

Mr. Cramp, in his Table of comparisons, compares the letters *p* in the words "papers" and "paper," in Junius to Woodfall, Plate 32, lines 6 and 10, with those letters in the word "newspaper" in Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter. I leave the reader to form his own estimate of the identity of those letters.

The letter *s*, also mentioned by Mr. Cramp, is, in Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter, uniformly of the same size as other letters. It is in few instances carried either above the range of other letters or below the line of writing. On reference to Plate 1, it will be seen that Junius habitually makes the letter *s* larger than other letters. He also frequently carries that letter considerably below the line of writing (see page 63). Other competitors, however, besides Francis share with him in that peculiarity, but not so Mrs. Dayrolle.

Junius formed the letter *s* in many ways, as I have before remarked (see pages 62 and 63). It is therefore not surprising that Mrs. Dayrolle's letters resemble some of his formations. Probably Mr. Cramp refers to the long *s* in the word "assure" in Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter (Plate 254, line 2), as he gives that word in his Table of comparisons, and compares it with a similar word taken from Junius's Letter, Plate 28, line 10. There is, however, nothing peculiar in the formation of that letter either by Mrs. Dayrolle or by Junius. The peculiarity connected with the long *s* in Junius is his frequent use of it at the beginnings of words; which peculiarity I have shown was three times carried into the hand of Sir Philip Francis (see page 65).

Francis has written the same word, and, in my opinion, more nearly than

Mrs. Dayrolle, in resemblance to the instance in Junius given by Mr. Cramp (see page 92). Both Junius and Francis have joined the final letter *d* to the letter *e* in that word. If Mrs. Dayrolle had written the word "assured," twice in Junius to Woodfall, No. 6 (Plate 28), she would in all probability have disjoined the final letter *d*, according to her inveterate habit of disjoining that letter at the ends of words. If all or even many of the letters *d*, at the ends of words, had been disjoined in Junius, the fact of such disjunction would have formed an important point of agreement between the Junian hand and that of Mrs. Dayrolle, for eleven words in her Letter (Plates 253 and 254) terminate with a letter *d*, and in every instance the *d* is *disjoined* from the letter which precedes it. If Mrs. Dayrolle had written the Junian MSS. similar disjunctions would, in all probability, have been frequent in them. A final letter *d*, formed somewhat after the model invariably adopted by Mrs. Dayrolle, occurs fifteen times in Junius's third Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plates 5 and 6). In every instance, except one in the twelfth line, the *d* is *joined* to the letter preceding it.

An examination of the facsimiles of words, given in Mr. Cramp's Table of comparisons, has led me to suspect that he was aware of Mrs. Dayrolle's puerile habit of disjoining her letters, and that he regarded it as a very grave defect. In that Table the word "shall," taken from Junius to Woodfall, Plate 28, line 10, is compared with the same word taken from a Letter by Mrs. Dayrolle, a facsimile of which Mr. Cramp does not give. In both of those words the letter *h* is disjoined from the letter *a;* but, on reference to the original Letter of Junius, I find no such disjunction in the word "shall" (see Plate 28, line 10). Again, Mr. Cramp compares the word "without," taken from Junius to Woodfall, Plate 32, line 15, with the same word taken from Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter (Plate 253, line 4). In both words in Mr. Cramp's Table of comparisons, the letter *h* is disjoined from the letter *o*. It is also disjoined in Mr. Cramp's facsimile of Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter from which he has taken one of those words. I have not been able to inspect the original Letter, and, therefore, cannot say whether Mr. Cramp has or has not aggravated Mrs. Dayrolle's habit of disjoining letters; but, on reference to the original of Junius's Letter, I find the letter *h* is not disjoined from the letter *o*, in the word "without" (see Plate 32, line 15); and I further find that the letter *t* in that word is not distinguished by the conspicuous termination given to the letter *t* in the same word in Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter (see Plate 253, line 4), but which is omitted in Mr. Cramp's copy of it in his Table of comparisons.

Mr. Cramp compares the words "hear it" (which are joined together) taken from Junius to Woodfall, No. 10 (Plate 35, line 2), with the same words disjoined, taken from an autograph by Mrs. Dayrolle, which cannot be distinguished from those words on the 4th and 5th lines of her Letter (Plate 253). In the word "hear" taken from Junius, the letter *r* has its shoulder to the left, of which there is not a single instance in Mrs. Dayrolle; and although the letter *t* in the word "it" is terminated in a similar manner in both instances, yet the resemblance is far from being complete.

In the word "have," which Mr. Cramp mentions, and in several other words spelt with a letter *h*, which he has taken from Junius, that letter is formed without a loop (see Plate 63, line 2); whereas in all the words which are compared with them, taken from Mrs. Dayrolle's autographs, the letters *h* are formed with loops. No other formation occurs in her Letter (Plates 253-4.)

Mr. Cramp specially mentions the word "be," and he gives specimens of that word, taken from Junius, and from Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter. Nevertheless, those words seem to me to have no resemblance to each other whatever, of such a nature as to indicate that both have been written by the same person.

Mrs. Dayrolle forms her letters *b* invariably with a loop, in conformity with her letters *h* and *l*; but Junius, like Sir Philip Francis, is not invariable in his formations of those letters. The word "be" occurs twice in Junius to Woodfall, Plate 32. In both instances the *b* is without a loop. If Mrs. Dayrolle wrote the Junian MSS., she has, in disguising her hand, conformed with the practice of Francis in the writing of the letters *b*, *h*, and *l*. (See pages 11 and 39.)

With regard to the word "well," specially mentioned by Mr. Cramp, it occurs three times in Mrs. Dayrolle's Letter (see Plate 253, lines 5, 10, and 14), and another similar word ending in double *l*, viz. "will," occurs three times also (see lines 1, 6, and 11). Now I cannot see in any of those words the complete resemblance to the Junian hand claimed on behalf of Mrs. Dayrolle. Junius is distinguished for the characteristic manner in which he writes words ending in double *l*, particularly the words "well" and "will." Mrs. Dayrolle's mode of writing those words gives weight to the agreement between Junius and Sir Philip Francis, in their mode of writing words ending in double *l*, illustrated in pages 39 and 40.

In Mr. Cramp's Table, the letter *a* in the word "are"—a word specially mentioned by him—taken from Junius to Woodfall, Plate 32, line 3, is in striking resemblance to the letter *a* in the same word, taken from a Letter by Mrs.

Dayrolle. But, on reference to Mr. Cramp's own facsimile of that letter (photo-lithographed in Plate 253 in this volume), I find the letter *a* in the word "are," which apparently he has copied from line 10, is by no means in complete resemblance to the letter *a* in Junius's word "are" (see Plate 37, line 3). So, also, the resemblance to each other of the letters *a* in the two words "shall," already referred to in Mr. Cramp's Table, is truly remarkable; but when I inspect the original Letter from which one of those words has been taken, viz. Junius to Woodfall, Plate 28, line 10, I find a very different formation of the letter *a* in the word "shall" from that given in his copy of it. These inadvertencies should induce the reader to inspect the photo-lithographed copies of Letters in this volume, and not to trust implicitly to the facsimiles made by hand. The former, however, unskilfully they may be performed, cannot err essentially in the forms of letters; whereas the latter, however carefully they may be executed, are always liable to inaccuracies.

The lithographed facsimiles in the third volume of the 'Grenville Papers,' nearly all of which have been taken from original MSS., are executed with remarkable fidelity. Several of those in 'Junius and his Works,' I have been informed on the best authority, have been copied from other facsimiles, instead of from original autographs, and therefore cannot be altogether free from inaccuracies.

The last words specially mentioned by Mr. Cramp, and which take the lead in his Table of comparisons, are the words "conspicuously," taken from Junius to Woodfall, No. 40 (Plate 63, line 1), and "conspicuous," taken from a Letter by Mrs. Dayrolle, a copy of which he does not give. The letters of these two words, compared separately, are in such feeble resemblance to each other that I am led to assume that the principal object in comparing them has been to show that Junius, like Mrs. Dayrolle had the habit of making breaks between the letters of words. But in the word "conspicuously," taken from Junius, the letters *s* only are separated from the next letters which follow them, agreeably with the practice of both Junius and Sir Philip Francis (see page 61); but in the word "conspicuous," in which the letter *s* occurs but once followed by another letter, taken from Mrs. Dayrolle, the letters *n*, *s*, *i*, and *u*, are disjoined from the next letters following them, occasioning four breaks in that word, only one of which follows a letter *s*.

In the word "are" already referred to, and in five other words by Junius, wherein the letter *r* occurs, in Mr. Cramp's Table of comparisons, that letter is

formed with its shoulder to the left; whereas in the words taken from Mrs. Dayrolle's writing, which are placed in comparison with them, the letters *r* are all formed with shoulders to the right, agreeably with Mrs. Dayrolle's invariable habit of forming that letter. Junius has in no instance written the word "are" with a letter *r* formed with its shoulder to the right.[1]

The double *l*, in the word "shall," by Mrs. Dayrolle, already twice referred to, is also defective, in addition to which, that word is written with a looped letter *h*, contrary to the practice of Junius,[2] as shown in Mr. Cramp's Table. Thus, there are no less than four defects in his comparison of that one word, viz.: a disjunction of the *h* from the *a*, the form of the letter *a*, the mode of writing double *l*,[3] and the looped letter *h*.

Mr. Cramp compares the word "would" abbreviated "wo^{d}." by Junius, with Mrs. Dayrolle's abbreviation "wou'd." With this and the preceding inaccuracies and defects he launches his Table of comparisons, to illustrate the "complete" and "remarkable" identity of the handwriting of Mrs. Dayrolle with that of Junius.

There are many other discrepancies between the handwritings of Junius and Mrs. Dayrolle, exhibited in Mr. Cramp's Table of comparisons. I have confined my observations as much as possible to those in the letters and words which he specially mentions as being in complete resemblance. Those observations illustrate the principle that a separate comparison of letters is far more searching than a general comparison of words.

I quite agree with Mr. Cramp's observation, that "There is very little "difference discernible between the facsimile in the 'Chatham Correspondence,' "dated 2^{d}. January 1768. and the last letter which Woodfall received on "the 19th January, 1773." Mr. Cramp's observation is, however, incompatible with his notion that Mrs. Dayrolle's handwriting was gradually transformed into the Junian hand by "care and practice;" for, if there is little difference discernible between the first and last specimens extant of the Junian hand, which extended over a period of five years, there can be little improvement discernible between them,—one of the results of care and practice. If Mrs. Dayrolle wrote Junius's first Letter to Lord Chatham, she must previously have cultivated and acquired, not only a feigned hand, but much greater proficiency in the art of writing than is displayed in her Letter written in 1760.

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[1] See pages 17 and 18. [2] See page 12. [3] See pages 39 and 40.

I observe that all the Letters written by Junius subsequently to the 17th December, 1771, are remarkable for the uniformity of the size and style of the hand in which they are written, wherein they all very nearly agree with the first Junian Letter extant, viz. Junius to Lord Chatham, dated 2^{d} January, 1768, more guardedly written, in my opinion, than any other Letter in the Junian MSS.

The differences between that Letter and the Letters written subsequently to 1771, do not consist in improvements in the general handwriting, but in forms of disguise, the caprices of the moment. The two principal novelties in the latter are the conspicuous terminations of words pointed out in pages 56 and 57, and the occasional use of the printing italic *f*, particularly devoted to the writing the word "of," as pointed out in page 30.

Those two forms of disguise connect Junius's second Letter to Lord Chatham, Plate 14, with his last private Letter to Woodfall, Plate 88; see the terminations given to the words "Admiration," "Imagination," "up," and "Chatham," in Plate 14, and a similar termination given to the words "again," "horned;" "Aldermen," and "up," in Plate 88; see also the letter *f* in the word "of" in Plate 14, lines 3 and 6, and in Plate 88, line 11. The second of those disguises, viz. the italic manner of writing the letter *f*, which Junius specially devoted to the writing the word "of," connects both of those Letters with Junius's second Letter and Essay sent to Mr. Grenville. See the letter *f* in the word "of" (Plate 3, lines 9, 11, 14 and 15; also in Plate 9, line 8). And both of those forms of disguise, together with a peculiar formation of the letter *f*, which Sir Philip Francis devoted occasionally to the writing the word "of," as written on the last line of Junius's second Letter to Lord Chatham, connect that Letter and all the other Letters of Junius with the Letters of Francis; see the terminations given to the word "Hampstead" in Plates 120 and 122; also the letter *f* in the word "of" in Plate 136, line 7, but more particularly in Plate 137, line 12, and in Plate 151, line 3 (see also page 31). With these and other more important evidences, to which attention has been directed in my Report on Sir Philip Francis, the handwriting of Junius's Letter to Lord Chatham, of his Letter and Essay sent to Mr. Grenville, of his private Letters sent to Mr. Woodfall, and that of all others of the Junian MSS., becomes inextricably interwoven with the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis.

XLI. In conclusion I would observe that it is by no means difficult for a writer to disguise his hand so that it may have a nearer general resemblance to the

natural hand of other persons than to his own natural hand; and when a writer, like Junius, adopts various styles, as Mr. W. J. Smith justly observes, the more readily may the handwriting of a suspected person be assimilated to some one or other of those varied styles of writing. But the same handwriting that might be compared (like De Lolme's) with Junius to Woodfall, Plate 34, would be immediately discarded when subjected to a comparison with Junius to Woodfall, Plate 24. On the other hand, the same handwriting that might reasonably be placed side by side with Junius to Woodfall, Plate 24, would be at once discountenanced when placed under comparison with Junius to Woodfall, Plate 34. Not only so, but the identity of the two Letters of Junius themselves might be doubted if it depended alone upon a resemblance of a general style of handwriting. Hence the fallacy of relying on that superficial test for forming an opinion.

There is a distinction to be made between character and style, as applied to handwriting. The former term is applicable to the peculiar and distinctive formations of individual letters which characterise the writing, in whatever style it may be written. The latter term is more difficult to define. It relates to the manner or mannerism given by different individuals to the same formations of letters, in which all letters participate more or less: thus, the writing of Junius's Letter to Woodfall, Plate 24, is in a different style from that of his Letter, Plates 26 and 27. Yet the formations of the letters in many of the words are essentially the same in both. See the words "letter to," Plate 24, line 7, and compare them with the same words in Plate 27, line 10. Compare also the following words, viz. "that," in Plate 24, line 4, and Plate 27, line 9; and "of," Plate 24, line 9, and Plate 27, line 14. Compare also the Salutation "Sir," at the beginning of both those Letters and the initial *C* at the close of them. Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville (Plate 1) and the Essay which accompanied it, although written at the same time, are in two or three different styles of writing; see Plates 1, 2, 7–12. So also Francis's Letter, Plates 113–117, dated two months only after Junius's first Letter to Mr. Grenville, is written in at least three different styles; but, what is remarkable, the style of the writing of the 2nd page of the Letter to Mr. Grenville, Plate 2, more nearly agrees with that of the first nine lines of the 4th page of Francis's Letter, Plate 116, than it does with the style of the writing of the first three lines of the Letter to Mr. Grenville. Yet, notwithstanding the different styles in which Francis's Letter is written, and the different styles in which Junius's Letter and Essay are written, the charac-

teristic and distinctive formations of the letters are the same in all three of those autographs.

The specimens of the handwritings of Lady Temple, and Lord George Sackville, and those of all the other candidates for the Junian hand, which have been criticised by me, contain, doubtless, some points which have pretensions to a resemblance to others in the Junian MSS.; but such points of similarity as are found in either of those specimens are common to, and are as well represented in, many other hands. They are therefore of insignificant importance, and have no more validity to prove their identity with the Junian hand than the points of similarity which are common to all those specimens have to prove that all of them have been written by one and the same person.

When it is considered that, of the numerous objections which I have put forward against the handwritings of those several candidates for the Junian hand, not one of them operates against Francis's hand; and when, at the same time, it is borne in mind that, of the numerous cogent points which identify his hand with the handwriting of the Junian MSS., so fully set forth in my Report on Sir Philip Francis, not one of those points is shared in a satisfactory manner by either of those rival competitors to Francis—such facts appear, in my humble judgment, to establish in the strongest manner the soundness of the conclusions at which I have arrived in my two Reports, viz.: that to Sir Philip Francis alone is to be ascribed "The Handwriting of Junius."

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

CHARLES CHABOT.

THE HANDWRITING OF JUNIUS.

COLLATERAL EVIDENCE.

THE object of the following pages is to show that a lady once received from Mr. Francis, afterwards Sir Philip Francis, an Anonymous Note in the handwriting of Junius, accompanied by Anonymous Verses in the handwriting of Mr. Richard Tilghman, Francis's cousin and familiar friend. To prove that the Note was in the handwriting of Junius, I publish two professional Reports of Mr. Netherclift the expert; and to prove that the Verses were in the handwriting of Tilghman, I publish two professional Reports of Mr. Chabot, the author of the preceding Reports on the Handwriting of Junius. As materials for comparison, in addition to the photo-lithographs of the Junian Manuscripts, to which attention has been already directed, I publish photo-lithographs both of the Note and of the Verses, and, likewise, of four Letters written by Tilghman in the years 1770-1773. The main interest of the case, if the facts are duly proved, arises from its distinctly bringing home to Francis the use, on one occasion, of the Junian handwriting in private life. But as this fact, though in itself very significant, becomes of minor importance when it has been rendered probable, with what may be deemed a redundancy of evidence, that all the Junian handwriting known to be in existence was penned by Francis, I have had much hesitation in publishing anything additional on the subject. In doing so, I have been mainly influenced by the following considerations. Important as a comparison of handwritings may occasionally be for many purposes, and sometimes even for the due administration of justice, it is evident that much misapprehension exists on the subject amongst educated persons, who are otherwise well informed. Now the Reports of Mr. Netherclift on the Anonymous Note, and the Reports of Mr. Chabot on the Anonymous Verses, while each has a special value for

its own immediate object, have, likewise, together a more general value, as an appendage to the preceding investigations of Mr. Chabot, by their contributing to diffuse more accurate information on the comparison of handwritings than has ever hitherto, in England, been presented to the ordinary reading public. Generally, they are nearly exhaustive specimens of the method to be pursued in endeavouring, by analysis and inductive reasoning, to prove that two documents were written by the same hand; as contrasted with the practice of merely enunciating the proposition that one handwriting is like another, without attempting to point out the different features which constitute the supposed likeness. Specially, they illustrate the mode of showing that two documents are in the same handwriting, whether such handwriting is either natural or disguised; just as Mr. Chabot's Reports on the Junian writing illustrate the mode of proving that two different handwritings were made use of by the same person. Thus they add to the utility of this work as a species of introduction to the comparison of handwritings. Again, different arguments suit different minds. Some persons are more impressed by the chain of evidence, partly external and partly internal, which brings home to Francis the handwriting of the Anonymous Note, than by the purely internal evidence, which shows that Francis was the penman of all the Junian MSS. They care more for what they regard as the human interest of the anecdote than for the rigidly intellectual interest of a scientific demonstration. Moreover, it is for me a simple act of justice to Mr. Chabot that I should publish in detail the proofs within my knowledge of his sagacity and independence of mind. Until he professionally examined the Verses, it was taken for granted that they were from the hand of Francis; and, even now, there are persons familiar from childhood with Francis's handwriting whom Mr. Chabot's Reports have failed to convince that the Verses were handwritten, not by Francis, but by Tilghman. And, otherwise, the external and internal evidence of those Verses having been handwritten by Francis was by some deemed so strong that Mr. Chabot would have run a risk of being discredited in his profession by negativing Francis's claims if the real handwriter had not been discovered. It is merely equitable, therefore, that the proofs of Mr. Chabot's intelligence which subsequently came to light should be recorded to his honour. For these reasons the following statement is published, though it involves a very frequent use of the first person, which cannot possibly, however, be more disagreeable to the reader than it is to the writer. And without further preface, I now proceed to mention,

1st, the detailed facts of the case, as far as they can be at present ascertained; 2ndly, the circumstances under which I became aware of the existence of the Note and the Verses, and under which I have been enabled to publish facsimiles of them; 3rdly, the proof that the Anonymous Note is in the handwriting of Junius; 4thly, the proof that the Anonymous Verses are in the handwriting of Tilghman; and 5thly, the evidence that the Note and the Verses came from Francis.

I. The circumstances of the case, divested of details concerning which there can be reasonable doubt, seem to have been the following:—In the Christmas season of 1770, or 1771, when Mr. Francis was on a visit to his father at Bath, he danced at the Assembly Rooms more than one evening with a young lady named Miss Giles. This lady, born in 1751, was daughter of Daniel Giles, Esq., afterwards Governor of the Bank of England; and in January, 1772, she became Mrs. King by marrying Joseph King, Esq., of Taplow. It was the custom at balls a hundred years ago for a lady to retain the same partner during the whole of the evening; so that the fact of Miss Giles having thus danced with Mr. Francis would imply more of an acquaintance than would necessarily be involved in a young lady's dancing with a gentleman at the present day. Subsequently, she received an Anonymous Note, enclosing Anonymous complimentary Verses, both of which she believed to have been sent to her by him.

The Note was in the following words:—

"The inclosed paper of Verses was found this morning by Accident. The "person who found them, not knowing to whom they belong, is obliged to "trust to his own Judgement, and takes for granted that they could only be "meant for Miss Giles."

The Verses were as follows:—

1.

When Nature has, happily, finished *her* Part,
  There is Work enough left for the Graces;
'Tis harder to keep than to conquer the Heart;
  We admire and forget pretty Faces.

2.

In the School of the Graces, by Venus attended,
  Belinda improves ev'ry Hour;
They tell her that Beauty itself may be mended,
  And shew her the use of her Pow'r.

3.

They alone have instructed the fortunate Maid
In Motion, in Speech, and Address;
They gave her that wonderful Smile to persuade,
And the Language of Looks to express.

4.

They directed her Eye, they pointed the Dart,
And have taught her a dangerous Skill;
For whether she aims at the Head or the Heart,
She can wound if she pleases, or kill.

The Verses and the Note are each written on a separate sheet of common letter paper, and the handwriting of the two is different. The reason of this is obvious. The humour of the compliment required such a difference. The two documents, though wholly unconnected with St. Valentine's Day, must be regarded in the light of a valentine; the essential idea of which is, that whereas certain Verses in praise of a young lady had been found by accident, Miss Giles alone merited such praise, and the Verses were therefore sent to her as to the person for whom they were intended. Hence, it would have been out of keeping with the plan of the valentine if the Verses and the Note had been in the same handwriting.

Francis avoided this impropriety in the following way:—For the Note he availed himself of the Junian handwriting; for the Verses he made use of the handwriting of Mr. Richard Tilghman.

There is some uncertainty as to the precise time when Miss Giles received the Note and Verses. According to a memorandum of her brother, Mr. Daniel Giles, the date was December, 1771, while according to a memorandum of the late Lord Essex, the date was "about 1770." It is, perhaps, most probable that the date was December, 1770, or January, 1771, as Tilghman was with Francis at Bath during a part of each of those two months, but he had left England before December, 1771. This fact is not, indeed, conclusive, as Francis might, possibly, have composed the Verses on some other occasion, and Tilghman might then have copied them out for him. Still, this seems less probable than the other alternative. What is certain on this point is, that the date cannot be fixed later than January, 1772; for the marriage of Miss Giles to Mr. King took place in that month and year, and she is mentioned in the Note by her maiden name.

II. Having stated these facts, I will mention how the existence of the two documents in question came to my knowledge, and how I have been enabled to make public use of them.

In December, 1867, I was in a country house with Mr. Panizzi, now Sir Antonio Panizzi, the distinguished ex-Librarian of the British Museum. In the course of conversation, he happened to state that many years ago, in the time of the late Earl of Essex, when he was at Cassiobury, Lord Essex's seat, he saw some Verses which had been sent by Sir Philip Francis, when Mr. Francis, to a Lady of Watford, and which proved that the handwriting of Francis and Junius was identical. And he added an anecdote respecting the Verses, which was connected with a visit he had afterwards made to Cassiobury from the Grove, the seat of the Earl of Clarendon. This anecdote led to my venturing to institute some enquiries on the subject through the late Lord Clarendon, who was then at Rome. The result was, that through his kind intermediation the present Earl of Essex made search, and in February, 1868, eventually discovered in his library at Cassiobury, not, indeed, the Verses, which were no longer there, but an engraved facsimile of the above-mentioned Anonymous Note. It is bound up there in the first volume of Woodfall's 'Junius,' and with it there is a statement in writing, signed by the late Lord Essex, and apparently dictated by him. That statement is as follows:—

"Belgrave Square, November 12, 1836.

"The above anonymous note, inclosing a copy of verses in a disguised "hand, at the time that Junius's Letters were then publishing, about 1770, was "addressed to Miss Giles, a young woman at Bath, by Mr. Francis, afterwards "Sir Philip Francis, son of Mr. Francis, translator of Horace. Miss Giles was "the daughter of Mr. Giles, the Governor of the Bank of England when the "Bank stopped payment in the time of Mr. Pitt. Miss Giles married Mr. "King, father of the present Benjamin Giles King, Esq.

"Just before the death of Mrs. King, which took place at Stanmore about the "year 1828, at the time when Woodfall's 'Junius,' with the facsimiles of his "handwriting, appeared, was published, Mrs. King mentioned to her brother, "Mr. Giles, that she thought she could find a note written to her from Mr. "Francis, inclosing some verses addressed to her, as alluded to before, in "consequence of her having danced with him at the rooms at Bath several "evenings. She did find the note, and gave it to her brother, Mr. Giles, who,

" at my instigation, had a few copies of the above facsimile [engraved?].
" Mr. Giles gave me one or two copies, and a very few others, which he gave
" to his friends.

" Sir Philip Francis heard of this, and spoke very indignantly on the subject.
" This prevented Mr. Giles naturally from circulating other copies. Mr. King
" has now the plate of the facsimile. Mr. Giles showed it to one of the Judges,
" who declared it would convict any man in a Court of Justice; and the same
" having been shown to Mr. Francis, son of the late Sir Philip Francis, he at
" once said, 'This was my Father's handwriting.'

" For these facts I can vouch.

" ESSEX.

" Junius wrote from 1769 to the end of 1771, or thereabouts."

It is to be observed that this memorandum was not handwritten by the late Lord Essex, but was merely dictated and signed by him. This may account for there being in it some inaccuracies of language. Moreover, there are in it some inaccuracies of dates. Thus Woodfall's 'Junius' was first published in 1812; Sir Philip Francis died in December, 1818; and Mrs. King, formerly Miss Giles, died in December, 1823. But, even in those whose memory remains strong in other respects, inaccuracy in dates is, notoriously, a common penalty of long life; and, at the date of the memorandum, Lord Essex was, within one day, precisely 79 years of age. Hence the mistakes in dates seemed to constitute no sufficient reason for doubting the statement that, in the lifetime of Sir Philip Francis and of Mrs. King, Mr. Daniel Giles had shown Lord Essex the original Anonymous Note as having been sent to Mrs. King, when Miss Giles, by Sir Philip Francis; and that Mr. Giles, at the instigation of Lord Essex, had caused the Note to be engraved.

In connection with the memorandum of Lord Essex, I took notice of the following anecdote, which is related in the second volume of the 'Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis,' vol. ii., p. 401. It is mentioned as having been communicated to Mr. Parkes by Dr. Elliot, the present Dean of Bristol, on the authority of the late Duke of Bedford, brother of Earl Russell:—

" About the time that 'Junius Identified' was published, a party was
" assembled at Youngsbury in Essex (*i.e.* Hertfordshire) which included the
" Kings, man and wife; Mrs. King had been a Miss Giles. The book had

" been sent down to Youngsbury, and was the subject of conversation. Mrs. " King heard some of the party speaking of the facsimiles of Junius's hand- " writing inserted in the book. Having looked at them, she said: 'I know " 'that handwriting well.'—'Whose, then, is it?' asked some one. 'Philip " 'Francis's.'—'How do you know?'—'When I was young, and first going " 'into society at Bath, I received letters and poetry from an anonymous " 'admirer written in a feigned hand: they were afterwards traced to Philip " 'Francis.'—'Have you preserved those papers?'—'Yes; and not only preserved " 'them, but I have got them here.'—'Well, then, get them and let us look at " 'them.' Having been looked at, the whole party assented that the hands were " identical.

" This was told me by the Duke of Bedford."

On comparison of this anecdote with Lord Essex's memorandum there seemed to be scarcely any room for doubt that both had in view the same documents. It is true that, in point of time, the memorandum referred to the publication of Woodfall's 'Junius,' the date of which was 1812, while the anecdote, with greater probability, referred to the publication of 'Junius Identified,' of which the supplement with the facsimiles did not appear earlier than 1817. But there was nothing essentially irreconcileable in the variations of the memorandum and the anecdote, and the names in both were the same. Following out the clue furnished by the names, I arrived at the conclusion that the late Mr. Giles Puller, Member for Hertfordshire, a gentleman of the highest character and the most cultivated intelligence, who had been cut short in a career of great usefulness by a premature death, must have been the representative of Mr. and Mrs. King. I accordingly wrote on the subject to his brother-in-law, Mr. Blake, of Danesbury, with whom I had the pleasure of being acquainted; and I made such inquiries of Mr. Blake as would naturally be suggested by the facts above mentioned. In answer I received a Letter, dated "Danesbury, Welwyn, 21 February, 1868," enclosing not only another engraved facsimile of the Note, but likewise a manuscript copy of the Verses which had been sent to Miss Giles with the Note. The Verses, it may be observed, had never been engraved, and no manuscript copy of them was known to exist in Lord Essex's library at Cassiobury.

The Letter was as follows:—

" On receiving your letter inquiring about the verses and note addressed by " Sir P. Francis to Miss Giles, I wrote to my sister, Mrs. Giles Puller, of

" Youngsbury, near Ware (whose late husband was the grandson of Miss Giles),
" to ask for all the information she could give you in reply to your queries.

" My sister, having been very busy at the time, deputed her third son,
" C. Cholmeley Puller, to write to me on the subject; and he has sent me a
" copy of the verses which I now enclose. In his letter to me he says, 'I have
" 'copied the verses, and added a short statement respecting them, based on a
" 'note, written by the late Mr. Giles, which is kept with the verses. We have
" 'also here the copper-plate on which the facsimile of the note is engraved, and
" 'several copies of the facsimile. The verses were never engraved. Mr. Giles
" 'states that they are in the ordinary handwriting of Sir P. Francis. I have
" 'always understood that the reason why he (Mr. Giles) had a facsimile of the
" 'note engraved was because the feigned hand in which it is written exactly
" 'resembles the hand in which Junius's Letters are written.'

" I was well acquainted with Mr. Daniel Giles, the brother, and with Benjamin
" King and Lady Puller, who were son and daughter of Miss Giles (afterwards
" Mrs. King), and I have always understood that there was a clear tradition
" amongst all those members of the family that the note and the verses were
" written by Sir Philip Francis, and sent by him, but without his name, to Miss
" Giles.

" The papers and the copper-plate are now at Youngsbury, and in the
" possession of my nephew, Arthur Giles Puller, who is now the owner of the
" place. The place belonged to Mr. Daniel Giles, and, I believe, to his father
" before him (who was also the father of the Miss Giles in question), and it has
" continued in the possession of the family (the descendants of Lady Puller,
" Daniel Giles's niece), ever since.

" I enclose a copy of the facsimile (which I obtained long ago from Youngs-
" bury), which will enable you, if you please, to compare the handwriting with
" the published facsimiles of Sir P. Francis's handwriting, and of the hand-
" writing of Junius, which, if I remember right, are to be found in 'Junius
" Identified.'

" Believe me yours very truly,

" W. J. BLAKE."

Mr. Blake's Letter enclosed a copy of the Verses, and likewise Mr. C. Cholmeley Puller's statement respecting them, based on a note written by the late Mr. Daniel Giles. That statement was as follows:—

"The original of the above verses is at Youngsbury. In a paper written "by the late Mr. Daniel Giles,[1] they are stated to be in the common hand-"writing of the late Sir Philip Francis, who was at Bath in December, 1771, "at which time they were sent to a young lady who was also then at Bath, "together with the note in a disguised hand, of which Mr. Giles had a facsimile "engraved. The young lady was Mr. Giles's sister, who in the following year "married Mr. Joseph King. Mr. Giles states that, though the note is in a "disguised hand, there was at the time no doubt of its having also been written "by Sir Philip Francis.

"C. C. PULLER."

Subsequently Mr. Blake conferred on me the favour of placing me in direct communication with his nephew, Mr. Arthur Giles Puller, of Youngsbury, to whom reference is made in the preceding Letter. This gentleman, with extreme liberality, which I have pleasure in acknowledging, not only at once entrusted to me the original manuscript Note and Verses, but he likewise put at my disposal the identical copper-plate on which the facsimile of the Note had been engraved. He then allowed me to cause an impression from the copper-plate to be transferred to stone; and he has since permitted me to cause the original Note to be photo-lithographed. This work thus contains two facsimiles of the Note—one a photo-lithograph from the original, part of which seems to have been slightly injured by frequent folding and opening, and the other a lithograph from the impression, transferred to stone, of the copper-plate which was engraved, at the late Lord Essex's suggestion, full fifty years ago.

In regard to the Anonymous Verses the difficulty was much greater. No facsimile of them had ever been taken, either by engraving or otherwise. The sheet of paper on which they were written seemed to have been once intentionally torn across, perhaps, on the first reading of them, by the lady to whom the Verses were addressed; and, at any rate, the paper of the Verses had been so much more worn by frequent opening and folding than the paper of the Note, that some words

[1] I have since been allowed to see this document, the purport of which is accurately given by Mr. C. Cholmeley Puller. It is known to be in the handwriting of Mr. D. Giles, but it is without date or signature. The precise words are, "The above is a facsimile of a note sent "in December, 1771, to a young lady at Bath, "inclosed with a copy of complimentary verses "in the common handwriting of the late Sir "Philip Francis, who was then also at Bath. "The note is in a disguised hand, but there was "at the time no doubt of its having been also "written by him."

had been irreparably lost, and what remained required the tenderest handling, in order to be preserved from fresh injury. Hence for some time I did not see my way to publishing a facsimile of the Verses till, on showing them to Mr. Bond, who presides over the Manuscript Department in the British Museum, he suggested the possibility of their being pieced together, if they were entrusted to Mr. Tuckett, a bookbinder of the establishment. With the consent of Mr. Arthur Giles Puller, I followed Mr. Bond's suggestion; Mr. Tuckett, with remarkable skill, restored all the remaining original parts of the paper to one common flat surface, and it thus became possible to photograph them. In this way, the facsimiles of the Verses in this publication are photo-lithographs from the original.

It is only to be added that the original Note and Verses are now again at Youngsbury, in the possession of Mr. Arthur Giles Puller, and that in the printed text the missing words of the Verses have been supplied, either from memory or conjecture, by the family.

III. The proof that the Anonymous Note is in the handwriting of Junius is contained in the accompanying Reports of Mr. Netherclift, which were written under the following circumstances:—

Although, on comparing the Note with the specimens of Junian handwriting in Woodfall's 'Junius,' especially with the Letter marked No. 10, the two handwritings seemed to me the same, I deemed it safest to obtain a wholly independent opinion on the subject. For this purpose I made inquiry as to the name of some first-rate expert in handwriting; and on the recommendation of a friend who had filled a high judicial office both in India and England, I submitted a case for the comparison of the two handwritings to Mr. Netherclift, sending to him an engraved facsimile of the Note and all the facsimiles of the Junian handwriting in Woodfall's 'Junius.' It so happens that I was previously wholly unacquainted with Mr. Netherclift; and he himself had not the slightest suspicion as to who was supposed to have been the handwriter of the Note. The result was a Report, dated the 25th of February, 1868, in which he expressed a decided opinion, based on detailed reasonings, that the two handwritings were identical. In October, 1869, I requested him to revise his Report for publication, and I placed at his disposal all the facsimiles of the Junian handwriting in this volume. This led to the present revised edition of his first Report, and to a second, or supplemental, Report, which contains many valuable additional observations. In reference to these Reports I

desire to call attention to the fact, that not a single observation in them, however slight, depends on mere testimony. Numerous as are the facsimiles of individual words, which are set forth in the Reports, there is not one of those facsimiles of which a photo-lithograph may not be seen in its place in this volume; and facilities are given for reference and verification by quoting the plate and the line of the photo-lithographs corresponding to the facsimiles. It may be added that it might be useful to any one who is a novice in the comparison of handwritings, and perhaps even to a practised volunteer, if, before he reads Mr. Netherclift's Reports, he were to try his own powers of observation by noting down what seem to him all the points of similarity or identity in the Anonymous Note and the Junian handwriting, and if he then were to compare what he had written with the points observed by Mr. Netherclift. Whatever might be the result, such a comparison, if honestly made, might tend to promote accurate self-knowledge.

With regard to the photo-lithograph from the Note, Anonymous, No. 1, it is proper to mention that the loops of the letters *g*, *y*, and *f*, in the two last lines, and the up-strokes of the other letters, are perfect in the original from which the photo-lithograph copy has been taken; but the ink with which they are written has faded so much that the photograph negative has failed to reproduce them. Hence the copy, untouched by hand, presents defects which do not belong to the original. For the same reason, there are analogous defects in the photo-lithograph from the Letter of Junius to Woodfall, in Plate 55; a Letter which is singled out because it was probably written at about the same time as the Note, and because in the size of its letters, and in some other particulars, that part of it which is reproduced in Plate 55 resembles the Note more than it resembles either the Dedication to the English Nation (Plate 17); or the Letter to Garrick (Plate 64); or many other specimens of the Junian handwriting in this volume. Indeed, if the subject-matter had been in harmony with the Letters of Junius to Woodfall, and if the Note had been inserted opposite Plate 55, it is unlikely that it would have occurred to any one to doubt the identity of the two handwritings.

It will be observed that in the lithograph from the engraving, Anonymous, No. 1 A, only the initial letter, and not the whole name, of Miss Giles has been reproduced. The reason seems simply to be that, from feelings of reserve, Mrs. King, who was alive when the Note was engraved, did not wish her maiden name to be introduced into it; and in the copy given to the late Lord Essex, even the initial letter was omitted.

As might be expected, the late Lord Essex, at whose instigation a facsimile

of the Note was engraved, and who lived till April, 1839, is known to have been in the habit of showing his copy of the facsimile to his friends. The case was the same with Mr. Daniel Giles, who died earlier. Either through Mr. Giles or through Lord Essex, Lord Brougham saw either the original Note or a facsimile of it; and he made public mention of the Note in 1839, in the second series of his 'Historical Sketches of Statesmen who lived in the Time of George III.' The passage occurs in his account of Sir Philip Francis, page 101, where the anecdote is adverted to in the following words:—"A remarkable writing of Sir P. Francis "was recovered by the late Mr. D. Giles, to whose sister he had many years "before sent a copy of verses with a letter written in a feigned hand. Upon "comparing this fiction with the facsimiles published by Woodfall of Junius's "hand, the two were found to tally accurately enough. The authorship is "certainly not proved by this resemblance, even if it were admitted to prove "that Sir P. Francis had been employed to copy the letters. But the "importance of the fact as a circumstance in the chain of evidence is "undeniable." Still, although the anecdote is mentioned in this manner as important, it does not seem to have attracted much attention among general readers. Hence when, on the supposed authority of the present Lord Braybrooke's father, the anecdote was published inaccurately in 1864, in the 'Diaries of a Lady of Quality,' as if not the Note but the Verses were in the feigned hand of Junius, and as if Lord Braybrooke had inserted in his 'Junius' a lithograph copy of those Verses, the editor of the 'Diaries' let the anecdote pass without correction, or comment, and he did not even make a note of reference to the statement of Lord Brougham as containing a different version of what was probably the same story.

Perhaps the information given by Lord Brougham was too scanty to impress itself on the memory, unless it stimulated curiosity to make further enquiries. For no statement was made as to where the original Note and Verses were preserved; no proof was given that those documents had been sent to Mr. D. Giles's sister by Sir P. Francis; and no expert, nor even a volunteer, had published any proof that the Note tallied so accurately with the Junian facsimiles as to justify the belief that the two were written by the same hand. Indeed, as copies of the engraved facsimile were only given or shown to friends privately, it was impossible, whatever might be the opinion of particular individuals, for the general public to arrive at any independent conclusion on the subject. This left the door open to all varieties of opinion and illusion in those who inspected the

facsimile. Thus, on one occasion, a copy of it was loudly pronounced, in my hearing, to be "in the round hand of Francis." Now, it seems certain that the Note was written by the hand of Francis, and, although the upper part of most of the common letters within the line is angular, yet as the lower parts of those letters, and the numerous bows above and below the line, may be termed round, the Note may be said to be in a round hand, in the same sense that a similar epithet may be applied to a large portion of the Junian handwriting. This, however, is not what was meant. And if a facsimile of the Note had never been published, any one who had made a similar erroneous generalisation as to the character of the penmanship might persistently, in perfect good faith, have contradicted Lord Brougham, and have maintained, with scarcely any possibility of his being publicly refuted by argument, that all interest on the subject was based on an error, inasmuch as the Note was simply in the round hand of Francis, and was not really in the Junian handwriting at all.

The anecdote, as told in the 'Diaries of a Lady of Quality' is subjoined in a note.[1] I have lately read it for the first time. It is an instructive specimen of a narration which contains many inaccuracies, but which has a substratum of truth. If the clue which it supplies had been followed up, the same information would probably have been obtained as that which resulted from the memorandum of the late Lord Essex in the library at Cassiobury. In regard to the supposed lithograph copy of the Verses in Lord Braybrooke's 'Junius,' the present Lord Braybrooke, through his relative, Mr. Neville Grenville, has obligingly communicated to me the precise facts. They are as follows: In his copy of 'Junius Identified' at Audley End, there is simply an engraved copy of the Note similar to the one at Cassiobury. Inserted with it, there is the following memorandum in the handwriting of Lord Braybrooke, his father. With slight variations,

[1] "Lord Braybrooke conceives the pretensions of Sir P. Francis as being better supported than those of any other of the candidates for the authorship. In support of this assertion he told me a singular story. Giles, whom we all remember so well, told him that, when his sister, Mrs. King, was a young Bath belle, she received anonymously a copy of love verses; that some years after Sir Philip Francis owned himself to be the author of these. It happened that the mystery long attached to these verses had induced her to preserve the original paper, and upon comparison with the autographs in Woodfall's edition, it proves that the handwriting is the same as that which Junius *feigned*, and not his natural hand. Mr. Giles, to establish this curious fact, had Sir Philip's verses exactly copied in lithograph, and gave one of the copies to Lord Braybrooke. He has inserted it in his 'Junius,' and promised, but afterwards forgot, to show it me."—Page 269.

it seems to have been copied, word for word, from the memorandum of Mr. D. Giles.

" Annexed is a facsimile of a note sent to a young lady (Miss Giles) at " Bath, in December, 1771, with a copy of verses enclosed, in the acknowledged " handwriting of the late Sir Philip Francis, who was then there.

" The note is in a disguised hand, but was at the time understood by Miss " Giles to have been written by him."

IV. The proof that the Anonymous Verses are in the handwriting of Richard Tilghman is contained in the second of the two accompanying Reports of Mr. Chabot. To understand, however, their history and bearing, some prefatory explanation is necessary.

When Mr. Arthur Giles Puller entrusted to me the original manuscripts of the Note and Verses, I showed the Verses to a gentleman familiarly acquainted with Sir Philip Francis's handwriting, who expressed his opinion that they were in Francis's handwriting, slightly disguised. Many other literary and legal gentlemen adopted the same conclusion, to which the external evidence and the tradition among the descendants of Mrs. King evidently pointed. Ultimately, for purposes of comparison, Mr. Merivale obtained for me from Miss Francis the Letter Book of Sir Philip Francis, marked Volume IV., of which an account has already been given, as containing the forty-two Letters of Sir Philip, facsimiles from which are published in the present work.

If there had been then at my command any facsimile of the Verses, I should at once have requested Mr. Netherclift to institute a comparison between the Verses and the Letters of Francis, in the same way that I had requested him to institute a comparison between the Note and the Letters of Junius to Woodfall. But no such facsimile was known to have been ever made, and the original had been entrusted to me with the very proper condition that I should not let it out of my own possession. Under these circumstances I wrote to Mr. Netherclift, requesting him to have the goodness to call upon me at my own home. In reply I received a Letter, not from Mr. Netherclift himself, but from a member of his family, stating that he was dangerously ill; and when, after a while, I sent to inquire respecting the state of his health, I received for reply a statement of his medical attendant that Mr. Netherclift would be unable to attend to any business during the next six weeks.

It then became necessary for me to consult some other expert; and, on my

making enquiries on the subject, a gentleman of the Civil Service Commission, who was himself officially conversant with questions of handwriting, suggested to me the name of Mr. Chabot, with whom I was, previously, as unacquainted as with Mr. Netherclift. I then at once communicated with Mr. Chabot, who, at my request, had the goodness to call on me.

It is proper to mention that I myself, at this time, had very little doubt that the Verses had been handwritten by Francis, though in a slightly disguised hand. But, admitting the idea of a disguise, I was perplexed by having been able to identify so few of the letters of the alphabet; and I deemed it unsafe to assert that he could be proved to have handwritten the Verses, unless an expert had previously examined them, and had given a professional opinion to that effect.

Under these circumstances, I laid before Mr. Chabot the original manuscript of the Verses, together with the Letter Book containing the forty-two Letters of Francis; and the question which I put to him was, not so much whether Francis did or did not handwrite the Verses, as whether I should or should not be justified in stating that he could be *proved* to have done so. Mr. Chabot then devoted two hours to the comparison of the Verses with the Letters, and he at length pronounced an opinion not only that I should not be justified in making such a statement, but that he thought he could prove the negative; viz. that Francis had not, and could not have, handwritten the Verses; and in corroboration of his opinion, he pointed out to me, as I have already mentioned in the Preface, numerous peculiarities in the Verses which were not in the Letters, and numerous peculiarities in the Letters which were not in the Verses.

On the following day it occurred to me as possible that since Francis was absolutely negatived, the real handwriter of the Verses might be Mr. Richard Tilghman. What led me to suspect Tilghman was my knowledge of his intimacy with Francis, and my remembering that, under circumstances to be mentioned hereafter, he had quoted two lines of the Verses in a Letter to Francis from America. Now it so happened, that in the Letter Book of Francis in my possession, there were six Letters which had been written to him by Tilghman, and I therefore at once submitted them to a thorough examination. In doing so, I could not fail to perceive the peculiarities which Mr. Chabot had pointed out in the Verses, as distinguishing them from the Letters of Francis; and having done so I requested Mr. Chabot to have the goodness to call on me a second time. Mr. Chabot arrived, and I then laid before him the Letters of Tilghman for comparison with the Verses. As a contrast to the rapid manner in which some undertake to judge

in such matters, I may mention of Mr. Chabot that, although the Verses had been under his eye during two hours on the preceding day, he nevertheless devoted the same period of time to a comparison of the same Verses with two of Tilghman's Letters before he pronounced his opinion. He then expressed his unhesitating conviction of the identity of the two handwritings; and, as I could not part with the Verses, he embodied his opinion in his first Report, dated the 9th of April, 1868; in which he merely generalised the facts on which his opinion was based, without going through any objective analysis of those facts for the information of others.

Owing to Mr. Bond's suggestion, and the liberality of Mr. Puller, I was subsequently enabled, in the manner already pointed out, to cause photo-lithograph facsimiles to be taken of the verses. Giving one of these facsimiles to Mr. Chabot, and entrusting to him the Letter Book, I had then the honour, on the 19th of May, of requesting him to prove professionally, in writing, to others, what he had stated without detailed proof as his opinion on the 9th of April. Mr. Chabot, accordingly, made a second Report, which he presented on the following 1st of September. Both these Reports are subjoined; but, interesting as his first Report is, and worthy of study, as a statement of the generalisations and principles on which his opinion was formed, it is to the second Report that attention should be directed for a perception of the individual facts, which prove by induction that the Verses are in the handwriting, not of Francis, but of Tilghman.

V. The essential point remains, to show that the Note and the Verses came from Francis. To prove this by direct evidence would have been difficult even at the time when Miss Giles received them, and it is impossible now. The fact, however, may be inferred, with reasonable certainty, from the following circumstances combined; viz. 1st, the belief of Miss Giles herself; 2ndly, the intimate relation in which Tilghman, the handwriter of the Verses, stood to Francis; and, 3rdly, the fact that, in a Letter to Francis, Tilghman subsequently quoted two lines of the Verses, in such a way as to render it probable that Francis was the author of them. Each of these three points will be noticed separately; but, as a preliminary, the idea which might occur to some persons that Tilghman himself was the handwriter of the Note in a feigned hand, must be absolutely discarded. There is a physical impossibility in the way of such an hypothesis. For that Note has been shown to be in the handwriting of Junius, and Tilghman not

only did not come to England from America till the publication of the Junian Letters had begun, but he likewise returned to America before the publication of them had ended. Indeed, more than half of the sixty-three private Letters from Junius to Woodfall, of which facsimiles are given in this volume, were penned at a time when Tilghman was not in England.

1. In reference to the first point, it can scarcely be doubted that Miss Giles believed that the Anonymous Note and Verses came from Francis. Her belief may be inferred from the traditions in her family; from the memorandum of her brother, Mr. Daniel Giles, and the memorandum of the late Lord Braybrooke; from the memorandum of the late Lord Essex; and from the anecdote communicated by the late Duke of Bedford to the present Dean of Bristol. In a case of this kind, much weight is to be attached to the conviction of the young lady herself; and, if such conviction is corroborated by other material circumstances, it ought to be conclusive.

As bearing on the statement that Miss Giles had danced with Mr. Francis several evenings before she received the Note and the Verses, it is important to bear in mind that it was the custom a hundred years ago for a lady to have the same partner at a ball during the whole of an evening. This is known by tradition to several persons now alive; but there is a curious passage in the first private Letter of Junius himself to Mr. Wilkes, which may be regarded as contemporary evidence of such a custom; for it contains an allusion which is inapposite, and, indeed, almost unintelligible, unless some such custom is presupposed. The Letter is dated London, 21st August, 1771. In it Junius is remonstrating with Mr. Wilkes against his plan of engaging the Livery of London to return Mr. Crosby with Mr. Bridgen as a candidate for the Mayoralty; and his argument is, that in such a case Mr. Bridgen, and not Mr. Crosby, would be the candidate chosen by the Court of Aldermen; so that the only result of Mr. Crosby's persisting in coming forward would be to force upon the citizens as a magistrate Mr. Bridgen, whose character Junius designates as odious and contemptible. Junius then asserts that the citizens would eventually lay the blame of this result at the door of Mr. Wilkes; and, in illustration of his meaning, he proceeds as follows:—"I appeal to Miss Wilkes, whose judgment "I hear highly commended: would she think herself much indebted to her "favourite admirer if he forced a most disagreeable partner upon her for a long "winter's night, because he could not dance with her himself?"—*Woodfall's 'Junius,'* vol. i. p. 270. These words evidently imply that a lady might be tied to

one partner for a long winter's night. And during the existence of the custom to which allusion is thus made, if a lady on receiving a complimentary copy of verses firmly believed that they had been sent to her by a gentleman with whom she had been dancing several evenings, the probability that her belief was correct would be greater than could be inferred from a similar statement at the present day.

2. The peculiar relation of intimacy in which Tilghman, the handwriter of the Verses, stood to Francis, is a point of primary importance in this case. The beginning and the progress of their acquaintance may be traced in the Letters of Francis; and the following account is founded partly on those Letters, partly on the 'Memoirs of Francis,' by Mr. Parkes and Mr. Merivale, and, partly, on information which has been most obligingly communicated to me by relatives of Francis and Tilghman, now residing in Philadelphia.

Richard Tilghman[1] was born at Philadelphia on the 17th of December, 1746, and died at sea, in a voyage from India to England on the 21st of January, 1786. He was first cousin once removed of Sir Philip Francis; for Mr. Tench Francis, an uncle of Sir Philip by the father's side, had emigrated to America, where he had married a Miss Turbutt; and a daughter by this marriage, who was thus first cousin of Sir Philip Francis, had married a Mr. James Tilghman, by whom she was mother of Richard Tilghman. Mr. James Tilghman was a person of consideration, and as Secretary of the Land Office, under the Proprietary of Pennsylvania, he filled a situation of some importance in the Province during the Colonial period. Richard Tilghman, the son, was destined to the Bar, and having received some instruction from Mr. Dulany, an eminent lawyer of Philadelphia, he came over to England to complete his studies in the law at the Middle Temple. He arrived here in the beginning of September, 1769, and returned to America at the end of August, 1771. During the two years of his residence in England he lived much with Francis, who seems to have

[1] Tilghman always writes his own name with a *g* in it. As has been pointed out by Mr. Chabot, Francis, so accurate in many points, seems to have had no strong sense of accuracy in spelling names; perhaps because it was scarcely possible to misspell his own. He spells the names of the same persons as both "Tilman" and "Tilghman," "Bourke" and "Burke," "Lutterell" and "Luttrell," "Meyrick" and "Merrick." See, in pages 89 and 90, Mr. Chabot's remarks on this subject.

entertained towards him that liking, and even affection, which men with reticent and reserved characters so often feel for men with genial[1] and transparent natures. Francis appears to have been well disposed towards him from the beginning of their acquaintance. In a Letter dated London, 6th September, 1769, he writes to his brother-in-law, Mr. Mackrabie: "Mr. Tilman seems to be a good-humoured, intelligent young man. He will "not, I believe, complain of my reception of him."—Plate 198. Four weeks afterwards, on the 4th of October, Francis writes: "Your friend and my second "cousin, viz. Tilman, is a person whom I like wonderfully. Nay, absolument, he "is (a) fine fellow in every sense. He seems to be young, and I am often astonished "at his understanding. He dines with me this very day."—Plate 147. On the 7th of February, 1770, he writes: "Poor Tilghman has had a violent cold upon "him these three months, and has suffered abominably."—Plate 153. On the 4th of April, 1770, he writes: "I am going to-night to sup at Tilman's "chambers. He leads a pleasant sort of life, and studies the law like a "dragon. His principles are truly patriotic, especially when in liquor."—Plate 155. As the year advanced, they made a home tour together; and Francis, in an interesting Letter dated the 12th of June, 1770, in which he assigns a reason why it is impossible that Junius should ever discover himself, writes thus to Mackrabie: "I have been a tour through Wiltshire, and as far as Bath, on "horseback, and in company with Tilman. The more I know this youth, the "better I like him."—Plate 158. Subsequently, on the 5th of September, 1770, Francis writes: "We had a grand party yesterday in Duke Street. Tilman dined "and supped with us. Tell his good mother from me, with many compliments "(for I know you are very intimate in that house), that her son Dick is one of the "finest fellows I have ever seen; he is too good for America. I am not very "lavish in praising people without good grounds."—Plate 161. About this time, not very much more than a year after Tilghman's arrival in England, the intimacy between him and Francis had become so great that, when Tilghman,

[1] Richard Tilghman cannot be regarded as a faultless character, but he deserves to be held in honour by insolvent debtors as a model creditor. It would not be easy to suggest the payment of a debt more graciously than in the following passage, written by him:—"Is Phil. "Baggs rich? I am not so poor as to be in "distress; but I should be glad if he could "conveniently pay me about sixty-five guineas "which he owes me. If he can pay me, well. "If he cannot, I am satisfied. He is an honest "fellow, and I shall love him though I lose by "him." See the Appendix for further details respecting Tilghman.

in a Letter to his father dated the 3rd of October, 1770, defends the private character of Francis, and says that "he knows him to have many virtues, among "which are very strong domestic attachments, such as a libertine is incapable of,"[1] he prefaces this statement by the words; "I know Mr. Francis as thoroughly, "I believe, as any man upon earth."—Plate 238. The following Christmas, when Francis was at Bath, Tilghman was there with him, and seems to have entered into the amusements of the place. This was probably the time when Francis sent the Note and Verses to Miss Giles. At any rate, Tilghman added to Francis's enjoyment at Bath, and at the following Christmas Francis looked back contrastingly to the pleasure which he had enjoyed on this occasion from Tilghman's society. This may be inferred from a passage in Tilghman's Letter from Philadelphia, dated the 3rd of April, 1772, in which he writes to Francis: "I am "sorry you found Bath dull, at the same time that I feel a sort of pride in "thinking the want of my company was, in some measure, the occasion of its "being less agreeable than usual."—Plate 246. On Francis's return to London from Bath on this occasion, his companionship with Tilghman continued. He writes on the 12th of February, 1771: "Tilman dined with me yesterday, "and swallowed a moiety of two bottles of claret. I shall not easily be reconciled "to his leaving old England. Tell his father and mother very seriously that "it would be a pity to remove him so soon from his studies, alias from Covent "Garden. You can't conceive how close he applies."—Plate 165. Again, in a Letter dated the 6th of March, 1771, Francis writes to Mackrabie: "Tilman "almost lives with us. He is so much in fashion, that I have hardly an acquaint- "ance who does not desire to see him whenever we are invited." And at the close of the letter he adds, "Inforce the necessity of Tilghman's staying here."—Plate 169. Finally, just after Tilghman had sailed for America, Francis wrote the following passage, which is a striking record of his intimacy with him, and of his feelings towards him. It is in a Letter to Mackrabie dated the 4th of September, 1771:—

"Your father's letter, which goes herewith, will naturally be filled with the

[1] At the time of the publication of the 'Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis,' Mr. Merivale had never seen this Letter. Not only, however, did his estimate of Francis's private character tally with this estimate by Tilghman, but he made use of Tilghman's very words (see vol. i. page 316): "As regards Francis himself, the "copious records of his life and habits as a "young man exhibit him as one of strong "domestic attachments," &c.

" departure of our good friend Tilman. He breakfasted with me for the last time " on Wednesday, the 28th of last month, and was to get into his postchaise at four " o'clock that afternoon. Our parting was no other (than) that if we were to dine " together the day following; yet I shall probably never see him again. I do not " think that, as to the choice of friends or companions, it is an easy matter either " to please my fancy or to satisfy my judgement. This villain succeeded in both " compleatly, and now I ought to hate him heartily for giving me such cause of " regret, as will last as long as I live. He is to write to me constantly; but at this " distance and with this prospect, it will be the dead letter, which he has been " studying so long. You are fortunate in waiting for his return to America. We " are all pretty quiet here; but it seems to me rather an anxious pause or interval " in contention than the tranquil security of a wise and firm Government. Tilman " is loaded with politics, and can explain everything as well as I can. I begin now " to think that some discovery will be made about Portsmouth fire. The Duke of " Gloucester is gone to Lisbon. Tilman will tell you wonders of my children, " particularly your nephew. Adieu. Adieu."—Plate 175.

On reviewing these proofs of a cordial intimacy between Francis and Tilghman, the inference to be drawn from the fact that the Verses are in Tilghman's handwriting seems to be nearly as strong as if they were in the handwriting of Francis himself. The inference is not, indeed, so self-obvious, as it demands a previous knowledge of many facts, and depends on a process of intermediate reasoning; but with that knowledge, and with that reasoning, the inference is scarcely less conclusive. Indeed, from one point of view, the penmanship of the Verses by Tilghman removes a difficulty; for it had obviously seemed strange, and somewhat improbable, that a man so wary and so constantly on his guard as Francis, should, under any conceivable circumstances, ever have permitted his natural handwriting and his Junian handwriting to be in juxtaposition under the same envelope. This difficulty, at least, though never in itself insuperable, now ceases to exist.

3. The quotation by Tilghman of two lines of the Verses in such a manner as to show that Francis was the author of them, is a third point of great importance. The circumstances connected with that quotation shall be set forth in detail; and some interest may, perhaps, attach to them, as it was the remembrance of the quotation which led to the suspicion that Tilghman was the handwriter of the Verses; which suggested that examination of the Letters which proved how

sagacious Mr. Chabot had been in denying those Verses to have been handwritten by Francis; and which ultimately led to the Report of Mr. Chabot on the handwriting of Francis and Junius. The circumstances were as follows:—

More than three months after Francis had ceased to be First Clerk in the War Office, and not much more than a month after he had been a suitor, though ineffectually, for some Office in the gift of the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, Francis left England on the 7th of July, 1772, for a continental tour. In October, 1772, he was at Rome, and on the 15th of that month he had an interview at Castel Gandolfo with Pope Clement XIV., the celebrated Ganganelli. Two days after, Francis wrote a detailed account of that interview to Dr. John Campbell in London. Dr. Campbell had long been known to the public as a multifarious writer. He had been an important contributor to the 'Universal History,' and he had the credit of having written no small portion of the 'Biographia Britannica.' His writings had been a source of considerable pecuniary gain to him; and it was of him that Dr. Johnson once said, "He is the richest author that ever grazed the common of literature." At the time when Francis wrote to him he was sixty-four years of age, precisely double the age of Francis. He had a house in Queen's Square, Bloomsbury, which was the centre of a literary circle, and he seems to have been altogether the most distinguished literary man with whom Francis was then acquainted. The Letter which Francis wrote under these circumstances deserves attention. It was a Letter eminently dramatic and insincere; that is to say, it expressed not so much the real sentiments of the writer as sentiments which the writer adopted to produce a favourable impression on the person to whom it was addressed.[1] Francis assumed in it a tone of moderation, elegance, and enlightened toleration; such as he deemed best calculated to please Dr. Campbell, but which is different from the tone of any Letter,

[1] Thus in his Letter Francis writes of Ganganelli: "As for his personal deportment, I can "affirm from experience that it corresponds with "his public character, and contributes to adorn "it. A great man preserves his dignity, even "when he wishes to lay it aside; and discovers "the force of his abilities when he seems to "make no use of them. The bow is unbent, but "we may judge how far it carries." But in his Fragment of Autobiography, Francis writes of the same Ganganelli in the same interview, as follows: "Nothing could exceed the courtesy "with which his Holiness treated us; but there "was no dignity in his deportment, nor judg-"ment in his discourse. He seemed to have "got a set of speeches by heart, calculated to "please and flatter such Englishmen as went "to see him."—*Memoirs of Sir P. Francis*, vol. i. page 164.

hitherto printed, which he had previously written. He was peculiarly successful in attaining his object. The answer of Dr. Campbell has been preserved; and Francis received in it the complimentary recognition that his Letter "might do "honour to Cicero or Pliny, and (which is perhaps the higher compliment) the "head of a Statesman and the heart of a Christian." Francis attached so much value to his own production that he sent a copy of it to his friend Tilghman in America. The whole of it is printed in the Appendix, and it will be observed that the Letter has a postscript, in which there is a Latin epigram on a marble lion. The following is the postscript:—

"P.S.—To shew you that I have not travelled over classic ground without "improving my faculties, I send you an Epigram, of my own conception, upon "a marvellous antique lion in the Medici Palace. Modern lions are mere "whelps to him. This, I take it, is a performance which would do no dishonour "to the pen of Scriblerus. But, good or bad, I am sure you would forgive "the poetry, if you saw the subject of it. The sight of such an animal inspires "nothing but fear.

"Ungue oculoque minax, orisque horrendus hiatu,
Imperia in sylvis tristia solus habet.
Hunc catuli fugiunt, conjux, fulvique parentes,
Vix domini gressus auserit[1] umbra sequi."

As an accompaniment to the copy of this Letter, Francis wrote a Letter to Tilghman, in which he appears to have amused himself partly with speaking lightly of the Americans as "novi homines," and partly with expressing his antipathy to lawyers as a set of rogues. This antipathy, to which he afterwards gave vent in the House of Commons in words of sarcastic fineness,[2] which have

[1] There is no instance in classical Latin of "auserit" for "ausus erit." See the 'Lexicon of Forcellini' (Facciolati), under "audeo." "Ipsum vero 'auserim' usurpatum legitur ab "Auctore cujusdam carminis de Passione "Domini, quod quidam Lactantio tribuunt "(verse 66) 'efficient ne spe captatus inani, "'Mobilis occiduis fortunæ fidere rebus Auseris, "'aut vitæ sperare fugacibus annis.' Cellarius "tamen edidit '*ausis*.'"

[2] The passage adverted to was as follows:— "It is really a strange thing, but it is certainly "true, that the learned gentlemen on that "side of the House, let the subject be what "it may, always begin their speeches with a "panegyric on their own integrity. You expect "learning, and they give you morals; you "expect law, and they give you ethics; you ask "them for bread, and they give you a stone. In "point of honour and morality they are un-"doubtedly on a level with the rest of mankind. "But why should they pretend to more? Why

been often quoted, he manifested less finely on this occasion by writing that "he had never known a man who was hanged except one, and he was "a lawyer." This led Tilghman, who was then a Barrister, to retaliate, in a Letter of acknowledgment dated May 1, 1773, which has been published in the 'Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis,' and is now reprinted in the Appendix, from the original. In this Letter, Tilghman expressed full appreciation of Francis's Letter to Dr. Campbell, which he termed "most masterly;" but with regard to the epigram he indulged in the following criticism: "I have no "objection to the epigram of the old lion, provided you will change the word "conception for translation or imitation:—

> "'He roared so loud and looked so wondrous grim,
> His very shadow durst not follow him.'—*Vide* POPE περι Βαθους.

"I have written this, partly out of revenge, and partly to show my reading and "knowledge of languages." This criticism would be naturally unpalatable to Francis, who, accordingly, in a Letter dated the 17th of July, 1773, which has not been preserved, seems to have waged battle for the originality of his epigram. To that Letter Tilghman replied in a Letter, dated "Philadelphia, September 29, 1773," which has been printed in the first volume of the 'Memoirs,' pp. 455-457, and of which a facsimile is published in this work, Plates 249-251. The first paragraph of that Letter, from which Mr. Parkes's transcriber accidentally omitted some words essential to the full understanding of its meaning, was as follows; and it will be seen to end with the quotation[1] of the two first lines of the second stanza of the Anonymous Verses:—

"should they insist on taking the lead in "morality? Why should they so perpetually "insist upon their integrity, as if that were the "objection *in limine;* as if that were the point "in question; as if that were the distinguishing "characteristic, the prominent feature, of the "profession? Equality is their right, I allow "it. But that they have any just pretensions "to a superior morality, to a pure and elevated "probity, to a frank, plain, simple, candid, "unrefined integrity beyond other men, is what "I am not convinced of, and, without new "and unexpected proofs, never will admit."—*Debate on the East India Declaratory Bill,* March 14, 1788. The last words are from the Report in Lord Campbell's 'Life of Lord Eldon.'

[1] A comparison will naturally be instituted between the handwriting of these two lines in the Anonymous Verses and in the Letters respectively; and a reader new to the subject may be perplexed by observing that the capital *H* of "Hour" has a slight handle in the Letter which is absent in the Verses; and the *V* of "Venus" is turned outwards in the Verses, while it is turned inwards in the Letter. It may save time, therefore, to point out that in the other Letters of Tilghman there are numerous instances of

"My dear Francis,

"I have receiv'd your packet of the 17th of July. You are very tenacious "of your epigram, I observe. You contend for it as if your reputation as a "poet depended on it. I did not condemn the composition—I only said it was "not an original, and I say so still; but yet I am ready to allow you can *weave* "originals, because in the School of the Graces, by Venus attended, Belinda "improves ev'ry hour."

Now, on an attentive consideration of this paragraph, it seems clear that Tilghman himself cannot be regarded as the author of the two lines, inasmuch as, in that case, the quotation of them would be wanting in point, and be nearly irrelevant. The subject under discussion is a poetical composition of Francis, and Tilghman, while he stoutly denies the originality of that particular composition, declares himself ready to allow that Francis can weave originals, and then quotes the two lines of the Verses. This quotation would be singularly inappropriate if Tilghman was merely quoting two lines of his own composition; while it was apposite, and might have been soothing to Francis after the assault on his epigram, if it alluded to Francis's Verses. The latter, therefore, may safely be adopted as the correct explanation of the passage; and the meaning of it is very much the same as if Tilghman had written, "I deny that the conception of your epigram "was original, but I do not deny that you can weave originals, for your power to "do this has been proved by your verses on Belinda." At the same time, he probably quoted these two particular lines from a catch of fancy in a play of words; to say that, as Belinda, in the School of the Graces, "improv'd ev'ry hour," so Francis improved what he borrowed, and thus made his compositions originals.

In conclusion, on combining all these circumstances, viz. the belief of Miss Giles herself, the intimate friendship of Francis with Tilghman who handwrote the Verses, and the quotation from the Verses made by Tilghman in such a way as to imply that Francis was the author of them—there seems to be little doubt that

the *H* without a handle—as in Plate 246, lines 1, 10, 11, 15. And in Tilghman's Letter, dated "Middle Temple, October 3rd, 1770," there are five instances of the *V* turned outwards, three in Plate 238, lines 7, 10, and 21, and two in line 17 of Plate 239.

the Note and the Verses were received by Miss Giles from Francis. If this is so, as the Note has been shown to be in the handwriting of Junius, it is brought home to Francis that he had command of that handwriting on one occasion in private life. The most probable and the most natural conclusion to be drawn from this fact is, that Francis himself handwrote the Note. And this conclusion, founded on independent collateral evidence, precisely tallies with the facts pointed out by Mr. Chabot, to prove that the Letters of Francis, and all the manuscripts of Junius, were written by one and the same hand.

APPENDIX TO COLLATERAL EVIDENCE.

I.

Letter from MR. FRANCIS *to* DR. CAMPBELL, *giving an Account of his Interview with Pope Clement XIV. (Ganganelli).*

DEAR SIR, Rome, 17th October, 1772.

At last I have an opportunity of keeping the promise you were so kind as to exact from me when I left England. I have not been unmindful of my engagement, but I wished to perform it a little more to your satisfaction than by a detail of the ordinary occurrences of a journey, or the common observations of travellers. You are not to be entertained with the rattling of French roads, the famine of an Italian inn, or the velocity of postillions within a given time. As for pictures and statues, I have really seen so many that I remember nothing. In a very large mixed company one seldom contracts a lasting acquaintance. Neither would my advice be of much use to you, for I fancy at present you have no thoughts of travelling. But, my good and worthy friend, I have the pleasure of thinking that I can meet you upon your own ground, upon your favourite topic, a great and good Prince who does honour to a throne. I know to whom this glorious character most eminently belongs; yet, trust me, there are princely virtues on both sides the Alps. The present Roman Pontiff is worthy of his station. He had no family connexions—he had no private interest nor foreign protection—and circumstanced as the affairs of the Holy See then were, it would have been impossible for him to have been Pope if he had not deserved it. Yet it is not his personal merit I admire so much as the ready concurrence of so many rivals to acknowledge and reward it. The success of his administration he piously attributes to the goodness of Providence. His modesty will not suffer him to insist upon the influence of second causes. As to matters of religion, I would not debate the point with him. In wordly affairs, I believe we may affirm that common men are not usually the instruments of wise councils or of important events. At his accession to the Pontificate he found the affairs of the Church in the utmost disorder—Portugal totally alienated, France dissatisfied, Spain little less than hostile, and Naples actually in arms upon the frontier. Scarcely had he reigned a twelvemonth when every one of these untoward circumstances was reversed. I ask no other proof of the wisdom of his councils. As for his personal deportment, I can affirm from experience that it corresponds with his public character, and contributes to adorn it. A great man preserves his dignity, even when he wishes to lay it aside, and discovers the force of his abilities when he seems to make no use of them. The bow is unbent, but we may judge how far it carries.

After seeing the Laocoön, Meleager, and Apollo, the next thing to be seen was the Pope. We had heard that Englishmen were well received by him. His Holiness takes every opportunity of honouring them with the most distinguished marks of his regard. This condescension, of course, encourages them to wait upon him; and, even without it, I think it would be absurd to see Rome and not to visit the head of the Roman Catholic Church. His Holiness being in the country, it was necessary to send beforehand, to know at what time we might be admitted to his presence. This part of the business was arranged for us by Abbé Grant, to whose friendship and politeness we are much indebted. An answer was quickly returned that the Pope would be happy to receive us whenever we should do him that honour, for so he was pleased to express himself. The day before yesterday we accordingly set out for Castello Gandolfo, under the auspices of our friend the Abbé. The Master of the Ceremonies happening to be out of the way, we were obliged to wait about twenty minutes in an antechamber, for which his Holiness condescended to make us a multitude of excuses. The moment he knew we were arrived, he ordered us to be admitted, and received us at the door of his chamber with an exclamation expressive both of satisfaction and goodwill. I never saw a more venerable nor a more benevolent countenance, yet not unmixed with keenness and sagacity. Instead of permitting us to observe the usual ceremony of kissing his slipper, he insisted upon our sitting down by him upon a little sopha—a distinction of which we are assured there was never an instance before. Our introducer, who has been accustomed to see English gentlemen well received, was at least as much astonished as we were at finding himself seated in the Pope's presence. In a moment his Holiness began the conversation, with the utmost familiarity and good humour; and as it was my chance to sit very close to him, he frequently laid his arm upon my shoulder, and always called me "Caro mio figlio." This, and "Cari miei Signori," was his constant address to us both. But whatever he said or did was accompanied with an ease and cheerfulness that, without lessening the reverence due to so great a person, banished all restraint. His discourse was rapid, and included a variety of topics; yet there was none upon which he seemed to dwell with greater pleasure than upon his esteem and affection for the British nation. I acknowledged how much we were obliged to him for this favourable opinion; but he insisted vehemently that we were only obliged to ourselves—that his regard for us was well known, and that he was pleased the world should take notice of it. He informed us that the Venetians having lately doubled the duty upon salt fish imported into Venice at second hand from Civita Vecchia and Ancona, and having found themselves disappointed in the produce of that duty, had accused him of having formed a commercial treaty with Great Britain, and that his Nuncio at Cologne, having asked leave to visit England last summer incognito, it had been industriously reported that his Holiness had sent him thither on some special commission. He laughed heartily at these reports, and wished they had been better founded. He assured us that if he had been Pope in the time of Henry the Eighth, he would have prevented that unfortunate separation of England; that

Clement the Seventh was a weak man, and duped by Charles the Fifth; and Wolsey a man of abilities, but blinded by his ambition; that the same temper and moderation which had lately recovered Portugal, would probably have preserved England. On his mentioning Portugal, I took the liberty of telling his Holiness that I was at Lisbon when Cardinal Aiaccioli was so disgracefully dismissed, and that I had the honour of being known to the Marquis of Pombal. This circumstance seemed to lead his Holiness to enter largely upon the late reconciliation with that Court. His management of it undoubtedly does him honour. It was the first measure of his Government, and the success of it has fully answered the rectitude and piety of his intentions. He said that the instructions given to Cardinal Aiaccioli were certainly injudicious, and that the Cardinal's zeal in carrying them into execution was, in his opinion, rather more to be commended than his discretion. That, upon his accession to the Pontificate, the first object he aimed at was to reconcile Portugal to the Holy See. That he immediately appointed Monsignor Conti (a name highly grateful to that nation) to be his Nuncio to the Court of Lisbon, and had given him no other instructions whatsoever than to carry with him 'Galateo' and the Decalogue. (You may not know, perhaps, that 'Galateo' is a book much esteemed here for the rules which it contains of civility and politeness.) That his letter to the Marquis of Pombal was cordial and unaffected, reminding him of his former attachment to the interests of the Church when he was Minister at Vienna, and expressing a confidence in his piety and in his well-known zeal for the support of the Catholic religion; that if the King of Portugal wished for the nomination of a Cardinal, he was ready to grant it; and that, in short, he desired a reconciliation with the Court of Lisbon, upon no other conditions but such as might best express his paternal tenderness and affection for His Most Faithful Majesty. This language, said his Holiness, came directly from my heart, and it pleased God to give it success.

If I were to repeat to you the many just observations he made upon this event, as well as upon the means he constantly employed to maintain a good understanding and correspondence with the Princes of the House of Bourbon, I should write you a letter too long for an Ambassador. As there was no formality, so there was no exact order in his discourse. The most serious parts of his conversation were mixed with expressions of personal kindness and attention to us his humble audience. He spoke of the Duke of Gloucester with tenderness and regard, and seemed sensibly touched with the acknowledgments his Royal Highness had made him of the civilities he had received at Rome. He also mentioned a late Declaration, but in the most moderate and guarded terms. From these subjects he descended to inquire how we had passed our time at Naples and Rome, where we dined, and what was our plan of amusement for the day. We told him we had provided a dinner, and meant to eat it at a Franciscan Convent in the neighbourhood. He then was pleased to conduct us through the apartments of the castle, opened all the casements himself, and pointed out to us the most striking parts of the prospect. At parting, he attended us to the outer door of his apartments, gave us his benediction,

and said that, being in the country, he was sorry he had nothing to offer by way of *ricordo*, or token of remembrance. After a short walk we returned to the convent, and found that he had sent us six bottles of Burgundy, and a large pasticcio from his own table. The good Franciscans omitted nothing in their power to shew their hospitality, nor were they unwilling to drink long life to their holy Father in his own wine—but this with moderation.

Our obligations to his Holiness were not to end here. In going to Castello our axle-tree unfortunately broke. We had it patched up, but it broke down again within a hundred yards of the castle. There was no remedy but to apply to the Pope's Master of the Horse for a carriage to convey us to Rome. He asked his Holiness's permission, and it was granted immediately, with a readiness to which I should be far from doing justice, if I called it only polite.

This letter you may consider as an involuntary effusion of gratitude for favours great and unmerited. I expect that you will share with me in the pleasure of the day. It was a pleasure not only high in degree, but of the purest sort, for it was unattended with regret. Though not a convert to the doctrines of the Church, I am a proselyte to the Pope. Whoever has the honour of conversing with him will see that it is possible to be a Papist without being a Roman Catholic.

I will not conclude without a formal protest against your taking the trouble of answering this letter. I know your punctuality in these matters, but I also know how much better and more usefully you are employed. *In publica commoda peccem.* A line from my old friend and fellow-labourer, to acknowledge the receipt, will be quite sufficient. He will be so good as to direct it to the care of Messieurs le Colteux, at Paris. In a few weeks I promise myself the pleasure of seeing you. My friend James, by whom I wish to be kindly remembered, is a ready penman, and will give me the news of the day. I have not been long enough out of England to be indifferent about politics. I beg of you to present my best compliments and sincerest good wishes to Mrs. Campbell, and that you will believe me, with truth and affection,

Yours,

P. FRANCIS.

P.S.—To shew you that I have not travelled over classic ground without improving my faculties, I send you an Epigram, of my own conception, upon a marvellous antique lion, in the Medici Palace. Modern lions are mere whelps to him. This, I take it, is a performance that would do no dishonour to the pen of Scriblerus. But, good or bad, I am sure you would forgive the poetry, if you saw the subject of it. The sight of such an animal inspires nothing but fear.

Ungue oculoque minax, orisque horrendus hiatu,
Imperia in sylvis tristia solus habet.
Hunc catuli fugiunt, conjux, fulvique parentes,
Vix domini gressus auserit umbra sequi.

II.

Letter of DR. CAMPBELL *to* MR. FRANCIS, *in acknowledgment of the foregoing Letter.*

DEAR SIR, Queen Square, November the 10th, 1772.

Your residence at Rome, and the paternal benediction of his Holiness, may confer on you a right to grant me a Dispensation, but then, as a stubborn Heretic, I may, how much soever I approve it, refuse to make use of it. To remain silent, after receiving a letter that might do honour to Cicero or Pliny, and (which, perhaps, is the highest compliment) the head of a Statesman and the heart of a Christian, would be full proof that it was sent to an unworthy Correspondent. I therefore take the liberty of expressing the great pleasure your Epistle gave me, and will leave meaner things to the care of my Secretary, who will acquaint you that I am tolerably well, and his mother exceedingly indisposed with the rheumatism, which I most sincerely believe St. Peter could, but you will give me leave to doubt whether his successor can, cure.

To show your Epigram was not entirely thrown away, I have attempted on the other side to make a translation, which in this alone does credit to the original, that it takes up twice the space, and, of course, cannot have half the merit.

THE LION.

Terrific fangs, the glaring eye,
The visage stern, display
The savage Sovereign of the woods
Whom howling wastes obey.

His Sons, his Consort, nay, his Sire,
With distant awe appear,
And as the surly Tyrant strides,
His Shadow shakes with fear.

I have the pleasure, upon inquiry, to learn that Mrs. Francis and your family are well, which is the best news I can have till I receive that of your arrival; in expectation of which I remain, with the utmost respect and esteem,

Your faithful friend, and most obedient servant,

JOHN CAMPBELL.

III.

Letter from RICHARD TILGHMAN *to* FRANCIS, *in Answer to a Letter from* FRANCIS *(not preserved), which accompanied a Copy of the Letter of* FRANCIS *to* DR. CAMPBELL, *dated Rome, October* 17, 1772. (*The date, May* 1*st*, 1773, *is at the foot of this Letter.*)

CARI MIEI SIGNORI,

I lament exceedingly that his Holiness did not give you, by way of ricordo, the Decalogue and that fine book 'Galateo.' The one would have taught you charity and the other politeness. I think I never receiv'd a letter so strange, and so full of impudence and abuse, as your last. You never knew but one man that was hanged, *and he was a lawyer.* The inuendo is so plain that I can't help understanding you. We are *novi homines*, are we? It is but fair to take you down a little for your ignorance in history. This day (the first of May) is the birthday of an American ancestor of mine of the name of Tammany, who, as you ought to have known, was canoniz'd above eleven hundred years ago. I wish the next time you write to me you would make a regular beginning and a regular ending to your letter. Do not mistake me; I do not desire to be addressed in form, with a dear Sir, or the like, but I should be glad of some mark to show me where I am to begin to read. The last line of your last letter was written above the first, and upside down, which perplexed me cursedly. Do, for the future, consider me as a plain man, and write to me accordingly. You tell me Rosenhagen is hand and glove with the French, and observe that that sort of intimacy is not to be hazarded with the Scotch. From the extraordinary marks of civility you receiv'd at Rome, and the affectionate manner in which you speak of the devil's Vice-Regent, I should suspect, if I did not know you to be a man of virtue, that you had hazarded the intimacy with the Pope of Rome, or, as you are pleased to style him, *his Holiness.* Your distinction between Papist and Roman Catholic is ingenious *to a degree*,[1] and yet I do not like it, for I hate

[1] This is one of the phrases which Sir P. Francis used to reprobate, according to the following account of his conversation by Lord Brougham:—"His critical severity, even as to "the language and tone of conversation, was "carried to what sometimes appeared an excess. "Thus he was wont to say that he had nearly "survived the good manly words of assent and "denial, the *yes* and *no* of our ancestors, and "could now hear nothing but 'unquestionably,' "'certainly,' 'undeniably,' or 'by no means,' and "'I rather think not;' forms of speech to which "he gave the most odious and contemptuous "names, as effeminate and emasculated, and "would turn into ridicule by caricaturing the "pronunciation of the words. Thus he would "drawl out 'unquestionably' in a faint childish "tone, and then say, 'Gracious God! does he "mean *yes?* Then why not say so at once "like a man?' As for the slip-slop of some "fluent talkers in society, who exclaim that "they are '*so* delighted,' or '*so* shocked,' and "speak of things being pleasing or hateful 'to "a degree,' he would bear down upon them "without mercy, and roar out, 'To what "degree? Your word means anything, and "everything, and nothing.'"—*Historical Sketches*, p. 91, 2nd series, 1839.

the Pope and all distinctions that are made in his favour. I desire to know whether the story of your intimacy with the Marquis of Pombal is matter of fact, or whether I am to look upon it as only the machinery of your letter. Great wits jump alike. If I did not know that, I should imagine you had stolen a hint and improved it in such a manner as to make it the most beautiful part of what, without flattery, I think a most masterly letter: "A great man preserves his dignity when he wishes to lay it aside, and discovers the force of his abilities, while he seems to make no use of them." A happier expression cannot be. Somebody,[1] speaking somewhere of Venus, says :—

"Illam, quidquid agit, quoquo vestigia vertit,
Componit furtim subsequiturque decor."

She could not divest herself of her native grace, even when she attempted to limp awkwardly, in ridicule of her husband. I have no objection to the Epigram of the old lion, provided you will change the word conception for translation or imitation :—

"He roar'd so loud, and look'd so wondrous grim,
His very shadow durst not follow him."—*Vide* POPE *περι βαθους*.

I have written this partly out of revenge, and partly to show my reading and knowledge of languages.

It is ridiculous enough, but I swear I envy you the six flasks of Burgundy almost as much as your singular interview with the Pope. There is to me something glorious in the idea of quaffing pontifical Burgundy; but, glorious as it is, Horace had a conception something beyond it :—

"—— Mero
Tinget pavimentum superbum
Pontificum potiore cœnis."

Suffer me to talk, my good fellow, it is all I have for it. I have not tasted a drop of good Burgundy since I left England. The want of that and a few other things prevents my being reconcil'd to mine own country. I begin to think of doing something that will make my countrymen tar and feather me. Do not you think, if I was to fly over to England with such marks of persecution about me, the Ministry would think my sufferings ought to be rewarded with a place under the Government. I think you once talk'd of coming to live in this country. I should be very glad to see you, but it must not be; we are not liberal enough. I will tell you a story: A Pennsylvanian Justice of Peace stepped over the borders into Maryland, and there . . . . . was laid by the heels, and, I believe, actually indicted for blasphemy. As good luck would have it, my father happen'd to have interest enough with the Governor of Maryland to obtain a nolle prosequi, or his worship would probably have been bor'd through the tongue. This will be enough to convince you this is no country for you. Stay where you are and grow a

[1] Tibullus, on Sulpicia, iv. 2, 7.

great man. When you get into power remember me. I shall not ask great things—seven hundred and thirty guineas a year will satisfy me.

In the mean time believe me to be, with the most sincere affection, yours,

Philadelphia, May 1st, 1773. RICHARD TILGHMAN.

I pray to be held in remembrance by Mrs. Francis and all your family. Is Phil. Baggs rich? I am not so poor as to be in distress, but I should be glad if he could conveniently pay me about sixty-five guineas that he owes me. If he can pay me, well; if he cannot, I am satisfied. He is an honest fellow, and I shall love him tho' I lose by him. What is become of Stephen? He owes me, not money, but a letter. Before you receive this, Mackrabie will have introduced to you a friend of mine of the Temple. He is my relation, which prevents me saying the fine things he deserves to have said of him. He is a very sensible young man et jurisperitus. If he was not clever, I would not say a word to you about him. Pray be kind to him. Give my particular compliments to my friend Godfrey. I am just going to have my hair dressed (we really have hair-dressers here), in order to keep the birthday of my old ancestor Tammany. If anything remarkably savage should happen, you shall have an account of it. Do not you think I shall look . . . . smart with my buck's tail in my hat when I get drunk? I had almost forgotten to answer one part of your letter. You are exceedingly mistaken in supposing we have no remains of antiquity among us. In our mountains remote from the sea are found fish-bones, which must have been there ever since Noah's Flood. What do you think of that, you infidel?

May 2nd.

Some of our company got abominably drunk yesterday, and behaved exactly like the Lapithæ, tho' I dare say they did not know such creatures ever existed. I did all I could to keep peace, but in vain. I stayed among them till I saw one man brandish a bottle at another's head, and then I took up my hat and cane and walked gravely off. Whether any mischief was done I know not. You must think I passed a very happy day, for the company consisted of lawyers, doctors, merchants, soldiers, printers, surveyors, captains of ships, and ship carpenters; and we had a band of music in the room that play'd so loud as to prevent all conversation, and so put us all upon a level. Vale caro mio figlio. If I can be of any service to you in your affairs at Philippi, Macedon, or Ingress, you may freely command me. I would think nothing of a trip to Greece or England, to serve my friend.

IV. The answer of Francis to this Letter, dated the 17th of July, 1773, has not been preserved. The Letter of Tilghman in reply contains the quotation of the first two lines of the second stanza of the Anonymous Verses. It is dated September 29th, 1773, and has been photo-lithographed for this volume (see Plates 249-251).

V. As a desire may be entertained to know something of the subsequent history of Richard Tilghman, the following statement may be acceptable. For further details the reader is referred to the 'Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis.'

Tilghman became discontented with his position in Philadelphia, and, in 1774, he wrote to Mackrabie in Calcutta, expressing dissatisfaction with the practice of the law in America, and stating that he wanted to be placed in a better situation. In February, 1775, Mackrabie wrote to tell him that, if he were then at Calcutta, he could not fail of making a fortune in his own line; but that the future could not be foreseen, and that the favourable chances might not continue. Tilghman eventually determined to try his fortune at the Calcutta Bar. He came over to England in 1776, and, after numerous delays, he obtained permission of the East Indian Directors to proceed to Bengal, on condition of his going to Dublin, and being called to the Irish Bar. He appears to have fulfilled these conditions in 1777, and he then sailed for India, where he arrived at Calcutta on the 11th of November, about a year after the death of his friend and relative Mackrabie. He obtained some practice at the Calcutta Bar; and Mr. Merivale states of him that in time he supplied the place of Mackrabie as right-hand man to Francis. When Francis, towards the close of 1780, left India for England, Tilghman accompanied him, and was with him during ten weary months—many of them passed at St. Helena, while he was waiting for convoy—which elapsed before they arrived in England on the 19th of October, 1781. Tilghman seems to have remained in England, under circumstances which have not been recorded, somewhat more than three years. He left England again for Calcutta, in January, 1785; and he was the bearer of a Letter from Francis for Mr. Wheler, who had been Chairman of the Court of Directors, and who was then (if alive) a Member of the Council in India. In this Letter, Francis wrote as follows:—

> Poor Tilghman is to deliver you this Letter. It will be a great happiness to him to see you once more, and he will communicate to you everything which I know or think about the state of affairs. I pray you, my friend, to serve him, if you can. I have no other object now in life very deeply at heart. He will tell you himself how cruelly and unjustly the Directors have treated him.

On his arrival in India, Tilghman learned the news of Mr. Wheler's death; but owing, apparently, to a favourable opinion entertained of him by Mr. Hastings, he had a good prospect of official advancement in his profession. His

health, however, gave way; he felt it necessary to leave India a second time; and he died at sea, on the 21st of January, 1786, when he was not much more than thirty-nine years of age.

After it was known that Tilghman had sailed from India, but before it was known that he was dead, a Letter, of which the following passage is an extract, was written to Tilghman's father, in America. The writer was Mr. Phineas Bond, afterwards British Consul in Philadelphia. The Letter bears date, "Middle "Temple, London, 12 April, 1786." It is in the possession of Mr. W. M. Tilghman, of Philadelphia, to whom I am indebted for the extract.

Referring to Richard Tilghman's expected return from India, Mr. Bond writes:—

> In point of pecuniary emolument it may be a great disadvantage to him; but, as Mr. Francis says, it is better to live anywhere than to die in Bengal. I have some reason to think a matter was in agitation *here* that would have been extremely honourable to your son, and highly productive. I am told that it was in the contemplation of the East India Company to appoint him the Advocate-General in the room of Sir John Day, who is now upon his return to England.
>
> The intended appointment was the effect of Mr. Hastings's recommendation, who, notwithstanding his constant opposition to Mr. Francis and his party, had honor and candor enough to assure the Company your son was the fittest person in that country to fill the office. Indeed I have frequently heard from gentlemen of consequence from India that all ranks of men held him in the highest estimation; and that he had by his manners, his abilities, and his thorough integrity, more universally recommended himself than any professional man that ever went from hence. His being under the necessity of relinquishing this appointment is certainly unfortunate, but health is too important an object to be sacrificed.

REPORT OF Mr. NETHERCLIFT

ON THE

ANONYMOUS NOTE.

Lithographic Office, 32, Brewer Street,
Golden Square, London,
February 25th, 1868.

To the Hon. Edward Twisleton.

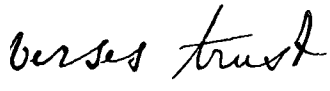
Sir,—Agreeably with your instructions, I have very carefully studied the character of the handwriting exhibited in the facsimile of an Anonymous Note addressed to Miss Giles in the year 1771, and have compared it with the several facsimiles of Junius's writing contained in the volumes of Woodfall's edition of 'Junius,' forwarded for my examination.

Fully alive to the extreme caution necessary to be observed in comparing the handwritings of former periods, I have yet not the slightest hesitation in expressing a very positive opinion that the hand that wrote the Junius Letters wrote also the Anonymous Note; and the following remarkable features of agreement between the writings form the evidence upon which my conclusions are based.

1st. Four distinct formations of the letter *r* can be recognised. The annexed facsimiles present examples in comparison.

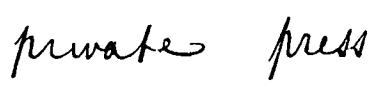
For the kind of letter *r* as in "verses" and "trust," see—

ANONYMOUS.



79·7

JUNIUS.



71·3 63·8

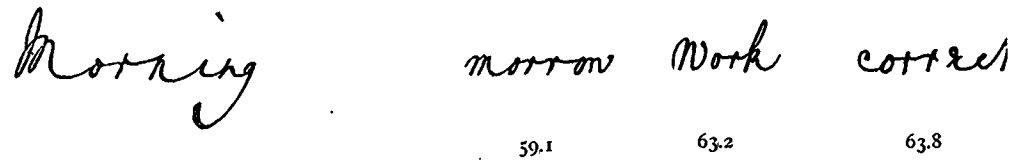
For the kind of letter *r* as in "paper" and "person," see—

ANONYMUS. JUNIUS.

74.1 67.2 73.16

For the kind of letter *r* as in "morning," see—

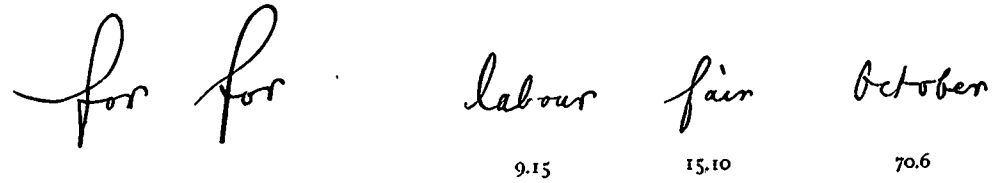
ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



59.1 63.2 63.8

For the kind of letter *r* as in "for," see—

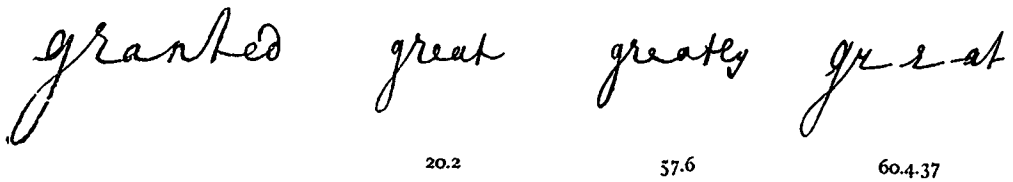
ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



9.15 15.10 70.6

2nd. The connection of the letters *gr*, as in the word "granted." Particularly notice the commencing thread line of the *g*, and the length of down-stroke.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



20.2 57.6 60.4.37

of Verses

The inclosed Paper was found this
Morning by Accident: The person who found
them, not knowing to whom they belong,
is obliged to trust to his own Judgement,
and takes for granted that they
could only be meant for Miss Giles.

Facsimile of Anonymous Note received by Miss Giles in 1770 or 1771.

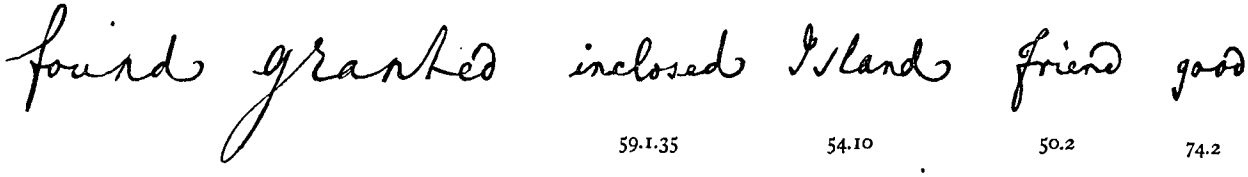
A Lithograph from a Copper Plate Engraved, probably, in 1818.

Anonymous, No. 1.a

The inclosed paper of Verses was found this
Morning by Accident. The person who found
them, not knowing to whom they belong,
is obliged to trust to his own Judgement,
and takes for granted that they
could only be meant for Miss G——?

3rd. Two ways of making the final *d*, as in "found" and "granted."

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



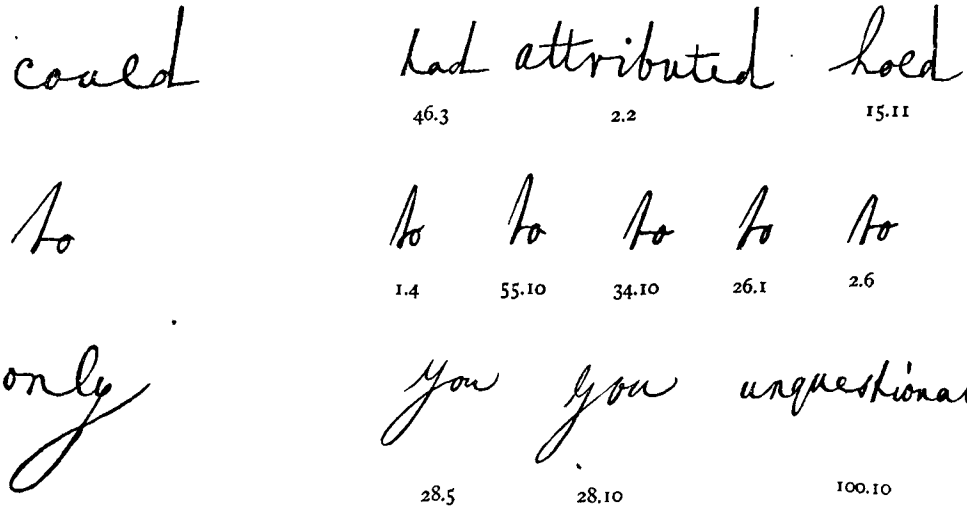
59.1.35 54.10 50.2 74.2

The foregoing comparison only relates to the difference of a *d* formed as an *o*, with a terminating flourish to the left, and a *d* formed in text shape, with a decided down-stroke. Junius employed several formations of the letter *d*. There are three in the Anonymous Note. Two I have described above. The third variety is in the word "could," last line. Here it will be seen that the down-stroke of the *d* is exceedingly long, and terminates with a short line almost horizontal; the latter characteristic being peculiarly constant where the down-stroke is formed in the elongated manner described. See the words—

"Middleton" ...	Plate 24, line 8;	"hold"	Plate 15, line 11;
"dangerous" ...	„ 26, „ 11;	"should"... ...	„ 10, „ 12;
"laboured" ...	„ 49, „ 2;	"degraded" ...	„ 16, „ 1.

4th. The exceedingly long down-strokes to the letters *d*, *t*, *y*, and *g*.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



46.3 2.2 15.11

1.4 55.10 34.10 26.1 2.6

28.5 28.10 100.10

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

53.6 41.8 25.17

For examples in reference to the length of down-stroke in the letter *g*, when formed with a LOOP, and not a CURL final, as in the word "obliged," 4th line, and the word "granted," 5th line, of the Anonymous, see the word "publishing," last line, Plate 23, and the word "imagine," 2nd line, Plate 24, of Junius.

The following also are remarkable instances of excessive length of down-stroke in the letter *g*—"greatly," Plate 49, line 2; "give," Plate 47, line 4; "again," Plate 39, line 9.

For additional instances of length of down-stroke in the letter *y*, observe "early," Plate 24, line 10, and both "Monday" and "Granby," in the last line but two of Plate 23.

5th. The peculiar down-stroke of the letter *p*, generally at the commencement of a word, as in "paper" or "person." The same is formed occasionally as much above the line of writing as below it, while the final portion of the letter touching the down-stroke gives the resemblance somewhat of a letter *f*.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

43.1 42.2 42.4 1.5

6th. The large and similarly shaped bows to the letters *f*, *b*, and *h*.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

42.1 16.14 38.1 71.16 41.8 40.11

Especially compare the *be* in the word "belong," with the *be* in the word "before."

7th. The universal connection between the letters *th*.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

7.9 54.14 15.12 7.5 39.6 47.7

8th. The capital *T* formed in two ways.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

41.11 79.10 72.19 38.12 7.4 2.4

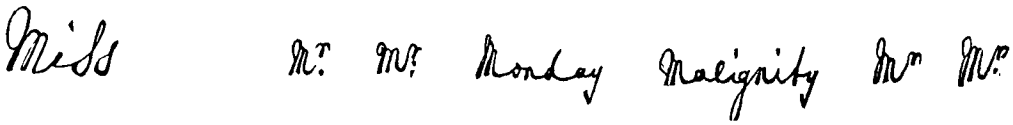
9th. The connection of the letters *wh*.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

29.6 29.13 69.8 74.1

10th. The identification of the capital letters *M*, *A*, *G*, and *J*.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

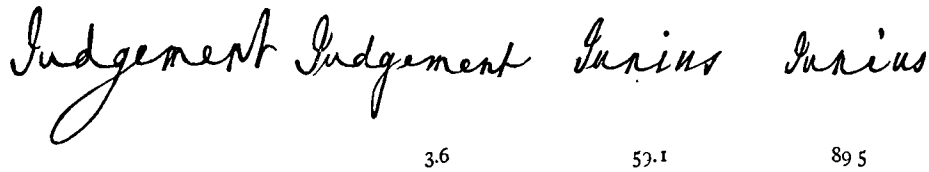


81.9 85.6 79.1 22.8 82.12 23.5

11.17 9.13 29.12

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

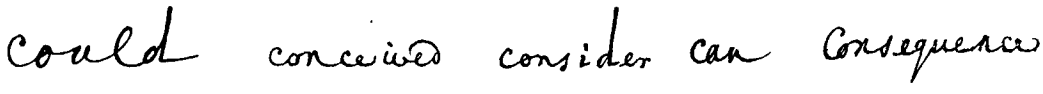
63.15 89.1 5.14



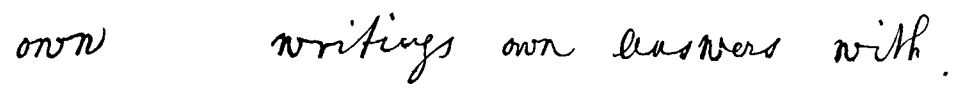
3.6 53.1 89 5

11th. The small round *c* commencing a word. Also the similarity of the letters *w*, *k*, *m*, *n*, and *o*, the connection of the latter especially with any succeeding letter.

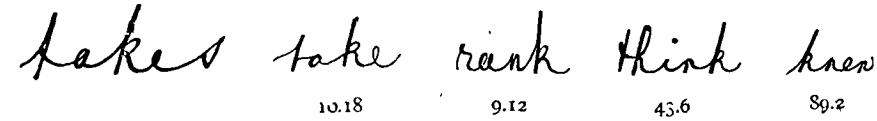
ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



79.2 45.1 9.16 9.16

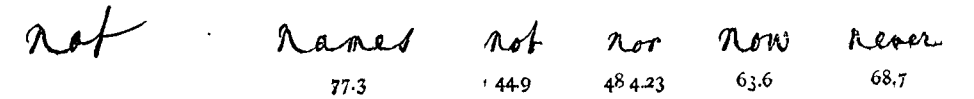


28.5 54.8 66.11 3.16



10.18 9.12 43.6 89.2

7.4 7.18 63.12 69.7

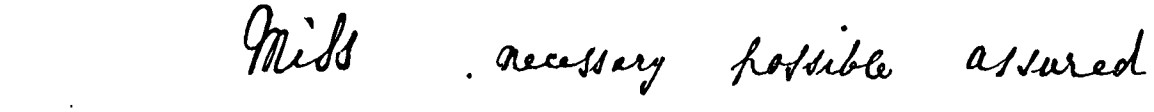


77.3 44.9 48 4.23 63.6 68,7

12th. The backhanded style of the writing, and general resemblance in the roundness of the bottom turnings of letters. The pen has been held similarly, and pressed with equal force upon the paper, producing thereby a like thickness of down-strokes.

13th. The small letter *s* constantly dropping below the line. Where the double letter occurs, as in the word "Miss," the first letter is almost habitually formed lower than the succeeding one. The examples are very numerous throughout the writings.

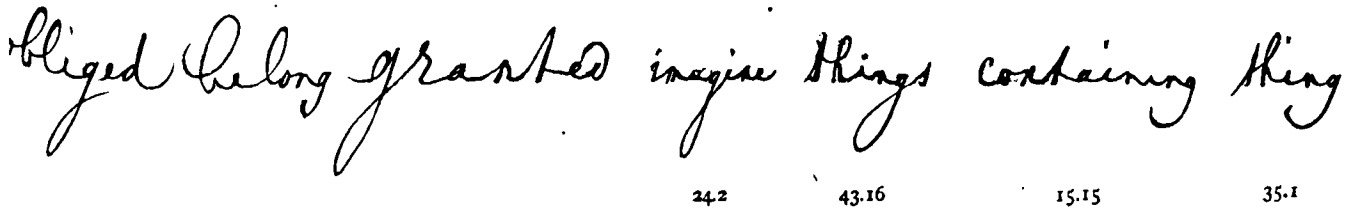
ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



67.1 53.3 34.4

14th. The diversity of the tails to the letters *y* and *g*, and agreement of the same in both writings.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



24.2 43.16 15.15 35.1

56.3.30 56.2.30 58.20 54.5 63.2 68.10

15th. The several formations of the letter *t* in addition to its great height, and occasionally on the contrary very diminutive construction. In the 4th line of the Anonymous Note, there occurs in the word "to" a loop at the bottom of

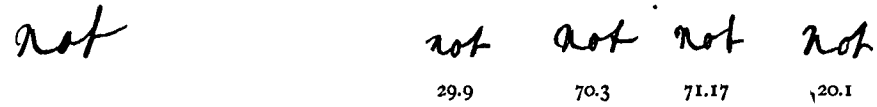
the *t* connecting it with the *o*. This being a singular characteristic, I searched diligently, and succeeded in finding its counterpart. The dwindled final *t* of the word "that" is a remarkable parallel of the dwindled *t* of the word "it;" which is taken from Junius's Letter to Mr. Garrick.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

29.9 2.6 45.6 89.2 89.2

16th. The word "not" is nearly identical.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



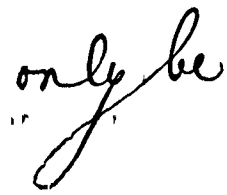
29.9 70.3 71.17 120.1

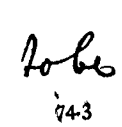
17th. The habit of connecting words together by the final up-stroke of the preceding letter.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

70.8

70.3



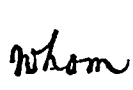


74.3

18th. The identity of the words "was" and "whom."

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

32.1 69.11



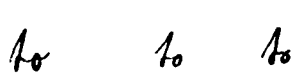
32.4

19th. The following words bear a very striking resemblance to each other. In the word "knowing," observe the small head of the *g* and the distance in each case between the *w* and the *i*.

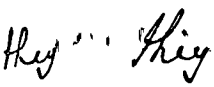
ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

36.17 68.14

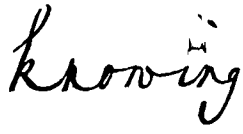
79.6 76.1 89.1

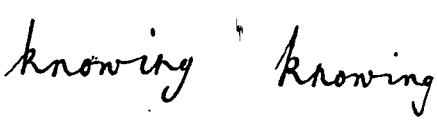


64.10 64.11 64.17



64.18 29.10

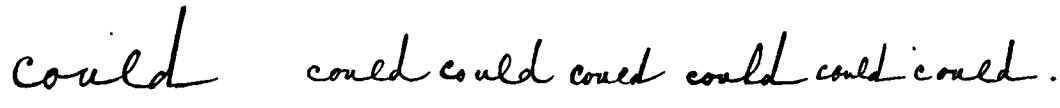




13.7 43.16

20th. The letter *l* is most remarkable for its stunted formation when occurring in the words "could," "would," or "should." In some instances the letter is so short that, were it to stand alone, it might be mistaken for the letter *e*.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



79.2 16.5 37.1 38.5 79.1 79.2

21st. I would especially notice the formation of the letter *f* as it appears in the words "found" and "for." I had hitherto been able to identify every other formation of letter save this, but, after much searching, I was successful in finding an example in No. 6, 3rd line from the bottom, in the word "for"; and again, in page 9, line 1, of the photo-lithographs.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

28.11 9.1

There is scarcely a single letter or connection between letters throughout the Anonymous Note but that an agreement with the same can be pointed out in Junius's Letters. I should have preferred a comparison with the original for this Report, had it been convenient. The handwriting of Junius, however, is not unknown to me, having some years ago executed several facsimiles from the originals for Mr. Smith's work, published by John Murray, Albemarle Street.

Trusting that the examples I have here submitted, to prove by comparison that the Anonymous Note to Miss Giles is undoubtedly by the hand that wrote the Junius Letters, may be equally conclusive to your mind as they are to my own,

I have the honour to remain, SIR,

Your very obedient servant,

FREDERICK GEORGE NETHERCLIFT.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF MR. NETHERCLIFT

ON THE

ANONYMOUS NOTE.

Lithographic Office,
32, Brewer Street, Golden Square,
October 30th, 1869.

TO THE HON. EDWARD TWISLETON.

SIR,—In compliance with your wish, I have revised my former Report. In doing so, I have made a few alterations, and have given tracings in facsimile of sundry particular agreements with their references.

Having, how, however, had photo-lithographic facsimiles of all the Letters of Junius to Woodfall and to Mr. Grenville placed at my disposal, I have been enabled to extend considerably my comparison, and I have made use of them in illustrating the observations which I made last year. Moreover, I have been successful in tracing the following words which occur in the Anonymous Note to Miss Giles for comparison with the same that appear in Junius. These words, when placed in juxtaposition, will be found to be identical in at least two letters. Where one or two of the letters vary, identity with those letters will be found elsewhere in the facsimiles.

1st. The word "The," for similarity of capital letters *T*, and roundness of final *e*.

ANONYMOUS.

JUNIUS.

15.1 83.1 15.16 2.4

2nd. The word "inclosed," for the same agreement of irregularity of slope in the letters, particularly in the *s* and final *d*.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

5.1 59.1.35 60.2

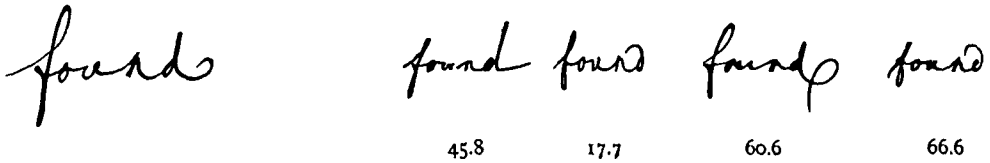
3rd. The word "paper." In the examples here given of the word "paper," and in numerous others throughout Junius, it will be noticed that the second letter *p* is generally curtailed in proportion to the same letter at the commencement of the word.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

58.18 43.1 65.1 49.11

4th. The word "found." Observe the connection of the letters together, as well as the general formation of the same, and the greater space existing between letters *u* and *n*.

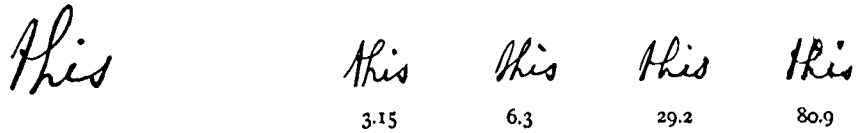
ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



45.8 17.7 60.6 66.6

5th. The word "this," not only for the similarity of the word, but it will be seen that the final letters *is* are somewhat raised above the level of the *th*.

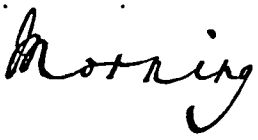
ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



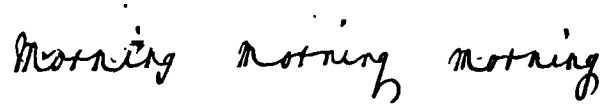
3.15 6.3 29.2 80.9

6th. The word "morning," for the general connection of the letters with each other, and remarkable small head to the final *g*.

ANONYMOUS.



JUNIUS.



75.6 72.4 73.5

7th. The word "by," to show the diversity of slope in the two letters.

ANONYMOUS.

JUNIUS.

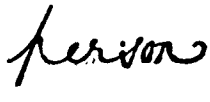
43.17 6.12 29.11

8th. The word "person." In writing this word, the first four letters appear continuously connected; the pen is then arrested, a break ensues, and the remaining letters are written connectedly, but rather closer together.

The following examples in Junius (there are many others) show this agreement precisely with the word "person" in the Anonymous:—

Plate	1,	line	12;	Plate	82,	line	2;
„	5,	„	11;	„	9,	„	1;
„	11,	„	7;	„	22,	„	13;
„	13,	„	3;	„	36,	„	13.
„	83,	„	11;				

ANONYMOUS.



JUNIUS.

82.2 22.13 36.13

9th. The word "who," for similarity of connection in the letters, and irregularity of inclination, also the elevation of the *o* above the first letter *w*.

ANONYMOUS.

JUNIUS.

36.6 37.2.12 8.17 9.4 36.15

10th. The word "is." Notice the roundness at the bottom of the letter *i*, the connection of the up-stroke to the top of the *s*, and the final dropping of the last-named letter below the level of the *i*.

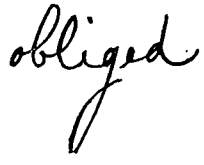
ANONYMOUS.

JUNIUS.

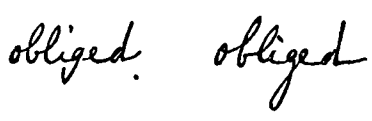
1.11 7.14 36.12 37.3.12

11th. The word "obliged," for the identification of the same irregularity of slope in the letters, and roundness in the turn of the same. Observe also that in each example the letter *b* is lower and inclines away from the *o*.

ANONYMOUS.



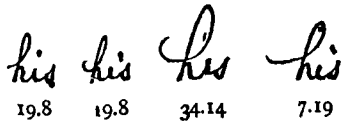
JUNIUS.



12th. The word "his." Notice the slight elevation of the *i* between the two other letters in the second and third examples of Junius, and that the dot to the letter *i* is a grave accent.

ANONYMOUS.

JUNIUS.



19.8 19.8 34.14 7.19

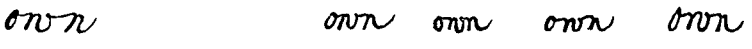
13th. The word "trust." Notice the separation between the *s* and *t*.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

68.9

14th. The word "own," as being formed and connected exactly alike in all the instances.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



64.8 21.17 22.2 32.4

15th. The word "Judgement," showing not only similarity of formation and connection in the letters, but also the marked spaces between them. Notice the same between the *u* and *d*, *d* and *g*, *e* and *m*, and *m* and *e*.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

3.6 59.3.35

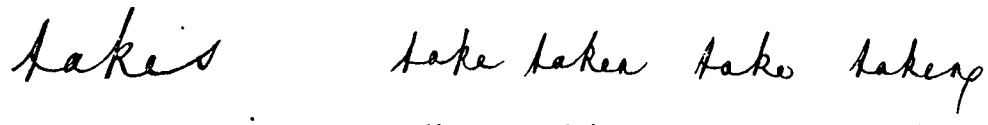
16th. The word "and," for close resemblance between the same, and a recognition of the thread or flourish in the commencement of the formation of the letter *a* in the first and third instances of Junius.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

72.10 5.5 11.15

17th. The word "takes." Here the first three letters are nearly identical. Observe the thread through the *a*, and that the *a* in each case is lifted above the *t*.

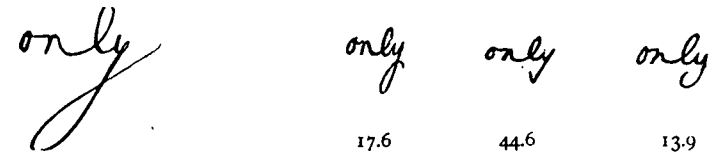
ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



66.19 67.6 70.2 81.6

18th. The word "only," as regards the first three letters, and the marked space occurring between the *n* and *l*, and manner of connection.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



17.6 44.6 13.9

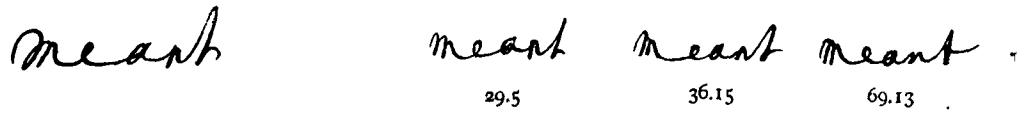
19th. The word "be." The roundness of the final *e* and the manner of its connection with the *b* are identical.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

34.2 33.3 1.4

20th. The word "meant." In this word the similarity to Junius is very marked. In Example 36.15 the final *ant* is exact. The greater space taken in writing the first two letters, *m*, *e*, also has its agreement. Observe also in each case the thread through the *a*.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.

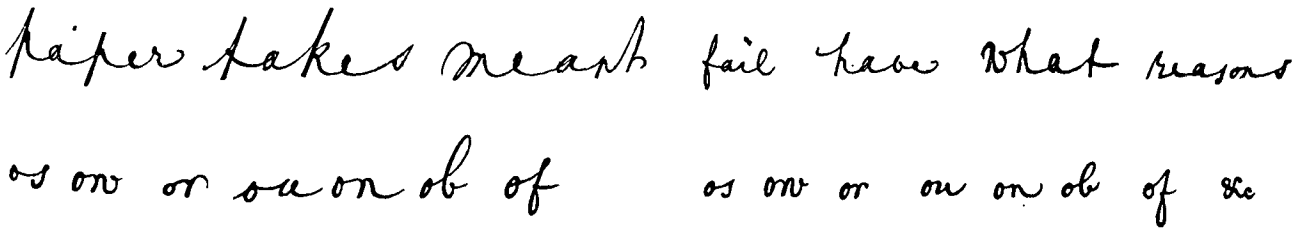


29.5 36.15 69.13

Thus it will be seen that, in one or other of the two Reports, I have presented in comparison with Junius nearly every word of the Anonymous Note. The only words omitted are—"them," "Verses," "Accident," "granted," "Miss," and "Giles." Of these, "them" is sufficiently represented under the seventh head of my first Report. The other words I have been unable to find; I believe they do not occur in these writings of Junius.

In addition to a similar formation of words, the connection of the letter *o* with a succeeding letter is peculiarly identical. Observe likewise the letter *a*, the up-stroke from the preceding letter constantly threading the same. I have not thought it necessary to reference these characteristics, as they may be recognised in every page of the writings of Junius. I attach examples to explain my meaning.

ANONYMOUS. JUNIUS.



A remarkable point of identity between the writings is presented in the word "for," which is almost invariably written in Junius with the shoulder to the right; and, indeed, wherever the letter *r* is preceded by the letter *o*, the shoulder of the *r* is, with very few exceptions, to the right of the letter. See such words as "or," "to-morrow," "for," and others which occur constantly.

In the Anonymous Letter there are eight instances of *r*, five of which have their shoulder to the left, and three their shoulder to the right. All the five to the left have parallels in Junius, and the three to the right exemplify his peculiar habit of making the *r* with its shoulder to the right when it follows the vowel *o*.

Another very decided characteristic is the agreement in shape of the dot to the letter *i*. The same is constantly, though not invariably, formed as a grave accent.

It is also worthy of notice that Junius exhibits a confirmed habit of creating a break after the letter *s*, either at the commencement of a word, or in any subsequent portion of the same, unless immediately before a final letter, such as

"purpose," "these," "base," &c., when it is occasionally connected. In the Anonymous Letter this peculiarity is presented in the words "verses," "inclosed," "person," "trust," and in "Miss;" these being, in fact, the whole of the examples in the Anonymous where the letter *s* is so introduced. In *st* there is always a break after *s*. A reference to any page in the writings of Junius will prove the characteristic of the break after the letter *s* to be almost universal. Take, for instance, Letter 43 (Plate 66). There is hardly a single deviation from this habit, remembering the exception I have before mentioned, thus affording another very strong proof of identification.

Again, I would direct attention—first, to the dwarfed formation of the letter *d* in the word "granted," to which there are numerous parallels in Junius; and, secondly, to the stunted formation of the head to the letter *g* in the words "morning," "knowing," "belong," and "obliged." In these instances the head of the *g* appears almost as minute as a pin's head, and in "morning" and "knowing" it is in a marked manner smaller than the preceding letter *n*. This is a peculiarity which is worth taking some trouble fully to appreciate. Counterparts will be found in numerous plates of Junius; but excellent parallel specimens may be at once seen in Plate 43, in lines 16, 11, and 12, respectively, in the words "knowing," "things," "gaining," and "publishing." I have given a facsimile of the word "knowing" in that plate under the nineteenth heading of my first Report; but it will be instructive to observe each of those four words in their original position.

And, lastly, in reference to the first letter *t* in the word "trust" (4th line of the Anonymous Note), I desire to call attention to the fact that the use of one form of the letter in this instance, and the use of another form at the end of the word, and in all other instances in the Anonymous Note, precisely tally with a peculiar habit of Junius.

In the handwriting of Junius in this volume the letter *t* occurs above 5000 times; that is to say, 5042 times, according to an analysis made by Mr. Powell, the Reader, to whom I am indebted for these and the following figures. In these 5042 instances, Junius gives a marked preference to the use of a *t without* a curve at the foot of it over the use of a *t with* a curve at the foot of it, the latter being in what may be termed the text form. This preference is so very decided that he writes the letter *t* in the text form, as in the beginning of the word "trust," only 103 times in the 5042 instances, except under two conditions, viz. first, when it is followed by the letter *r*, and, secondly, when

it is followed by another *t*. Confining attention to the first condition, it is found that the fact of an *r* following a *t* modifies his general habit so materially that in this case he has made use of the uncurved form only seventeen times, while he has made use of the text form 114 times; so that the chances of his preferring the text form in any one such case are in the proportion of more than six to one.

Applying the knowledge of this habit to the Anonymous Note, the result accords with the fact of the Note having been written by Junius. The letter *t* occurs in it sixteen times. In no instance is it followed by another *t;* but one instance occurs, viz. in the word "trust," in which *t* is followed by *r*. Now in this case, and in this case only, the Anonymous Writer makes use of *t* in the text form; while in all the other instances—fifteen in number—he makes use of the uncurved form, which, under similar circumstances, was so decidedly preferred by Junius.

In conclusion, as a question has been raised whether all the specimens in this volume of handwriting attributed to Junius were written by the same person, I may, perhaps, be permitted to record my opinion on this subject. I have examined all those specimens very minutely, and I do not hesitate to express my conviction that the same hand wrote all and each of them. They vary from each other in the unessential points of coarseness and fineness, of size, and of carefulness in writing, passing through all degrees from the admirable specimens of penmanship in the Essay sent to Mr. Grenville (Plate 10), and in the Dedication to the English Nation (Plate 17), down to the very irregularly written Letter of Junius to Woodfall, No. 6, of which a facsimile is given in Plate 28. But the same assemblage of habits in handwriting, as could be proved in detail, is illustrated more or less in every one of them; one hand alone wrote all those specimens; and the same hand wrote the Anonymous Note which has been the subject of the preceding investigation.

Thanking you for the opportunity you have kindly afforded me of revising and extending my Report,

I have the honour to remain, SIR,

Your very faithful servant,

FREDERICK GEORGE NETHERCLIFT.

REPORTS OF MR. CHABOT

ON THE

ANONYMOUS VERSES.

I, CHARLES CHABOT, of 25, Southampton Row, Russell Square, a Professional Expert in Handwriting, having been requested to give an opinion whether it could or could not be proved that certain Anonymous Verses which had been sent to a Miss Giles in 1770, or 1771, commencing with the words, "When Nature has happily finished her part," are in the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis, hereby certify that, after having made a very minute examination of the handwriting of those Verses, and a careful comparison of the same with that of several Letters, forty-two in number (Plates 105–212), written by Sir Philip Francis, contained in a Letter Book, marked Vol. IV., belonging to him, I am of opinion that it cannot be proved that the Verses are in his handwriting. Moreover, I do not believe that he handwrote them. However able Sir Philip Francis might have been in disguising his hand, I doubt his ability to assume the particular character of the handwriting of the Anonymous Verses.

It is true that the handwriting of those Verses presents some points of similarity to several in Francis's hand; but they are of insufficient importance, and might be found to the same extent in the handwriting of other persons. They are, however, outweighed by the absence from the Anonymous Verses of certain peculiarities and habits of writing which are of constant occurrence in the Letters written by Sir Philip Francis; and, on the other hand, by the presence in the Verses of certain peculiarities and habits of writing which have no existence in any of the Letters written by Sir Philip Francis.

I have also examined the handwriting of two Letters signed "Richard Tilghman," and dated respectively Philadelphia, November 10th, 1771, and Philadelphia, 3rd April, 1772, both of which were placed in my hands for a comparison with the Anonymous Verses after I had given the above opinion, in the first instance verbally only. I now certify that, having made such comparison, I am of opinion, without any doubt whatever, that the Anonymous Verses and the two Letters signed "Richard Tilghman" are in the handwriting of one and the same person.

I recognise in those two Letters the particular character of the handwriting of the Anonymous Verses. I find also that all the peculiarities in respect of certain minutiæ connected with the formation of letters which distinguish the handwriting of the Verses are of habitual occurrence in the two Letters by Tilghman. And I further observe that the few points in which the handwriting of the Anonymous Verses agrees with that of Sir Philip Francis, and which, I have already observed, might be found in other handwritings, are all to be found in the two Letters written by Richard Tilghman.

CHARLES CHABOT.

April 9, 1868.

25, Southampton Row, Russell Square,
September 1, 1868.[1]

THE HON. EDWARD TWISLETON.

SIR,—On the 19th May last, I received your instructions requesting me to prove to others professionally in writing that the Anonymous Verses beginning, "Where nature has happily finished her part," are in one and the same handwriting as two letters signed "Richard Tilghman," and dated, respectively, "Phil.ª Nov.r 10th 1771." and "Philadelphia 3rd April. 1772." (Plates 241–248); likewise to point out in writing to others the peculiarities of handwriting in the Verses which preclude the idea of their being in the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis.

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[1] Revised and adapted for publication, 21. January. 1871.

Facsimile of Verses sent with the Anonymous Note received by Miss Giles in 1770 or 1771.

Anonymous No. 2

When Nature has happily finish'd her Part,
There is Work enough left for the Graces;
'Tis harder to [illegible] than to conquer the Heart:
We adm[illegible] forget pretty Faces.

2.

In the School of the Graces, by Venus attended,
Belinda improves ev'ry Hour;
They tell her that Beauty itself ~~may be~~ (mended,
And shew her the Use of her Pow'r.

3.

They alone have instructed the fortunate Maid,
In Motion, in Speech, & Address. —
They gave her that wonderful Smile to per: (suade
And the Language of Looks to express.

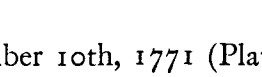
Face 2nd Page of Report of Mr Taber on the Anonymous Verses

They directed her Eye, they pointed the Dart,
And have taught her a dangerous Skill:
For, whether She aims at a[illegible]ad, or the Heart,
She can wound, if She p[illegible], or kill.

I now have the honour to submit my Report thereon.

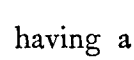
The above propositions which you desire me to prove are the substance of two opinions given by me in a former Report, dated 9th April last. Those opinions appear to me to be fully justified by the following observations and attendant comparisons.

I find in the Verses certain peculiarities and habits of writing of constant occurrence which agree with others constantly to be met with, in the two Letters written by Richard Tilghman, but which are entirely absent from the Letters of Sir Philip Francis; and *vice versâ*, I find in the handwriting of the forty-two Letters (referred to in my Report of April 9th, 1868) written by Sir Philip certain peculiarities of habitual occurrence which are absent from the writing of the Verses.

1. Thus the small letter *a* occurs *four* times in the *first* line of the Verses; in every instance it is an open letter, thus: . It also occurs *four* times in the *first* line of *each* of Richard Tilghman's two Letters: in every instance an open letter corresponding exactly with those on the 1st line of the Verses. A clearer instance occurs in the word "have," on the 1st line of the 3rd Stanza, also in the same word on the 4th line of Tilghman's Letter of November 10th, 1771 (Plate 241), thus:  . This formation of the letter *a* occurs repeatedly in the Verses, and is habitual in both of the Letters of Tilghman to which you have specially referred me; also in three others written by him to which my attention has been recently directed.[1] I do not find a single satisfactory instance of such formation in a large amount of the writing of Sir Philip Francis. I believe it to be impossible to find four consecutive instances in any single line of writing written by him. When he makes an open letter *a*, it is habitually formed thus: ; a similar formation thus: distinguishes every page, almost every line, of his writing. There is not a single instance of it in the Anonymous Verses. To describe its formation in words: it is a combination of the letter *e* having a very large "eye" or "loop" and a *well formed* letter *i*; that found in the Verses is a combination of the letter *c* and a *diminutive* letter *i*.

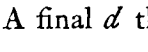
2. The letter *d* in the Verses, in conformity with the letter *a*, is a combination

[1] Two of these are photo-lithographed in Plates 237–240 and 249–251.

of a letter *c* having a clumsily formed dot and a letter *l*, thus:  , as in the words "Belinda," 2nd line, 2nd Stanza; and "Address," 2nd line, 3rd Stanza; whereas Sir Philip Francis constantly makes it, in conformity with his letter *a*, a combination of a letter *e*, having a large eye or loop, and a letter *l*, thus: .

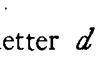
3. Examine seven instances that occur of words ending with the letter *d* in the Anonymous Verses, viz.: "finish'd," Stanza 1, line 1; "And," Stanza 2, line 4; "instructed," Stanza 3, line 1; "And," Stanza 3, line 4; "directed," Stanza 4, line 1; "pointed," Stanza 4, line 2; "And," Stanza 4, line 2. In every instance the final *d* terminates heavily, with scarcely any up-stroke, thus: . In Richard Tilghman's Letter of November 10th, 1771 (Plates 241, 242), there are *sixteen* words ending with the letter *d*, all of which bear the closest comparison with those referred to in the Anonymous Verses. This curtailment of up-stroke at the terminations of words is a distinctive characteristic of the handwriting of the Verses, and no less so of Tilghman's handwriting. It is in marked contrast to that free and varied mode of terminating words which is a distinctive characteristic of Francis's handwriting.[1]

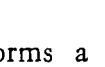
4. In the Verses three words out of eleven ending with a letter *d* have the final letter thus: , viz.: "attended," Stanza 2, line 1; "maid," Stanza 3, line 1; "wound," Stanza 4, line 4. A similar final *d* is found very nearly in the same proportion in Tilghman's Letter of the 10th November, 1771, viz. in eleven out of twenty-eight instances.

A final *d* thus formed  occurs *once* only in the Anonymous Verses, in the word "mended," Stanza 2, line 3. Its exact counterpart may be seen *once* only in Tilghman's Letter of November 10th, 1771, viz. in the word "afford," Plate 241, line 15. He has also on three occasions given the final letter *n* of his signature a similar termination (see Plates 244, 248, and 251). Whether this was an accidental coincidence, or whether Tilghman acquired

[1] See Plates M and N.

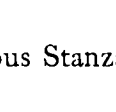
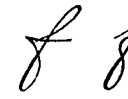
this habit from his friend Francis, or *vice versâ*, it is difficult to determine. Francis has on two occasions terminated a letter *d* in the same manner, viz. on the addresses of his two Letters, Plates 120 and 122; but in no instance has he terminated that or any other small letter in the same way at the end of a word in the body of a Letter.

When Sir Philip Francis curtails, as he occasionally does, the final up-strokes of the letters *h*, *m*, and *n*, when they terminate words, he omits the up-strokes altogether,[1] yet he does not do so in the case of a letter *d*, but, on the contrary, frequently makes the final up-stroke of that letter unusually long, sometimes taking occasion to join it to the next word. In his Letter of August 4th, 1767 (Plates 105–108)—the first in order in the Letter Book referred to in my Report of the 9th April, 1868—it is conspicuously long in every one of the nine instances where the letter *d* formed thus:  terminates a word; in four of them it joins the next word, and in the five remaining, it is curled upwards (see, Plate 105, the words "and the," line 7; "should not," line 8; "and you," line 11; "mind to," line 12).

Sir Philip Francis, in common with the writer of the Verses (and many other writers), frequently forms a final *d* thus:  , but it occurs in a much larger proportion in his Letters than in either the Verses or in Richard Tilghman's Letters. In Francis's Letter of 4th August, 1767 (Plates 105–108), it is so formed in twenty-two out of the thirty-one instances of words ending with *d* which occur in that Letter. It also occurs in the middle of a word in sixteen out of twenty-one instances wherein the letter is in that position. But this form of the letter *d* is not used in the middle of a word in any instance either in the Verses or in Tilghman's two Letters of 10th. Nov.r 1771. and 3rd. April. 1772.

5. Compare the words "for" and "forget," on the 2nd and 4th line of the first of the Anonymous Stanzas with the same words in Richard Tilghman's Letter, Plate 241, line 4, and Plate 242, line 13; and observe the connection of the letter *f* with the letter *o*. Compare also the word "of" on the last line of the

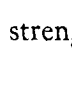
[1] See Plate M, Example No. 1.

second Anonymous Stanza, thus:  , with the same word written on the 13th line of Tilghman's Letter, Plate 241, and with several other instances in the same Letter. Likewise compare the *un*crossed letter *f*, thus: , detached from the other letters in the word "finished," on the 1st line of the Verses, with the letter *f* in the word "first," written on the 3rd page of Tilghman's Letter of November 10th, 1771 (Plate 243, line 1); and the *un*crossed letter *f* in the word "left," on the 2nd line of the 1st Stanza, with a similar letter in the word "inferior," written on the 13th line of Richard Tilghman's Letter, Plate 241. In every instance the pen has been lifted at the bottom of the letter. No such instances of forming the letter *f* can be found in any of Sir Philip Francis's writing. He rarely, if ever, lifts his pen at the bottom of the letter, but carries an up-stroke therefrom forming a loop, and with it frequently crosses the letter completely *through*, thus:  (see the words "for" and "heretofore," on the 5th and 10th lines of his Letter, Plate 105). In the Anonymous Verses there is only one letter *f* (in the word "wonderful"), on the 3rd line of the 3rd Stanza, that has a shadow of resemblance to that particular form of the letter which pervades every page of the writing of Sir Philip Francis. All others may be identified with the distinctive formation of the letter which prevails in all the Letters written by Tilghman.

6. The letters *g*, in the words "enough" and "forget," in the 1st Stanza; the first letter *g*, in "language," in the 3rd Stanza; and those in the words "taught" and "dangerous," in the 4th Stanza, are complete types of that letter as habitually used by Tilghman. He does, however, on rare occasions form it more perfectly, as in the word "got," on the 4th line of his Letter, Plate 237. It is equally well formed, in a single instance only, in the Anonymous Verses, viz. the second *g* in the word "Language," on the 4th line of the 3rd Stanza.

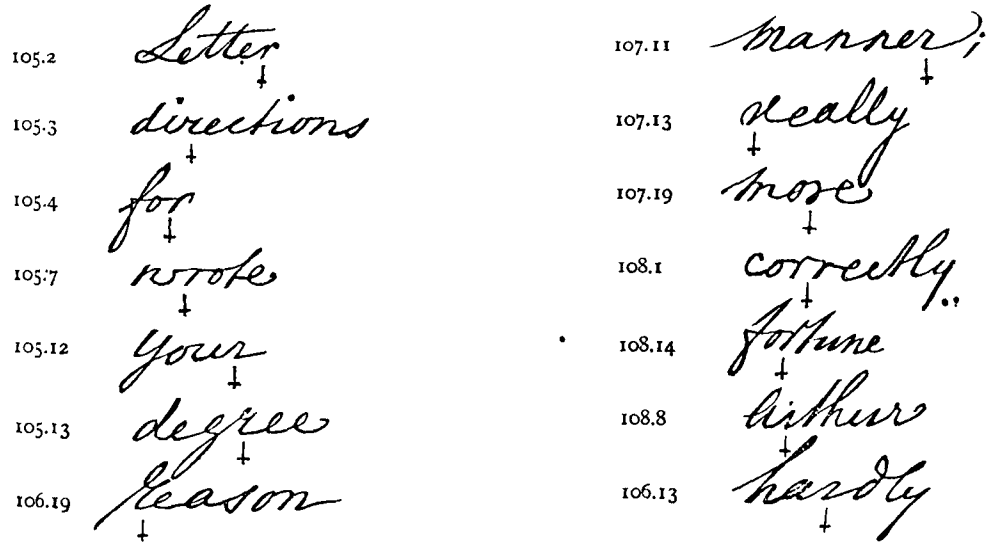
7. The small letter *p* occurs nine times in the Anonymous Verses. In every

instance it has been formed by two operations, the pen having been lifted at the bottom of the down-stroke, thus: . The same mode of forming that letter may be repeatedly detected in Richard Tilghman's Letter of November 10th, 1771. The word "happily," on the 1st line of the Verses, will bear a very close comparison with the words "happy" and "happier," written on the 7th and 11th lines of Tilghman's Letter. Sir Philip Francis also occasionally forms that letter in a similar manner, but he far more frequently varies from it, and makes the letter by *one* operation of the pen, thus: . I find it so in the first instance I meet with in his Letters of a like word, viz. "happiness," on the last line of his Letter of 5th December, 1767 (Plate 116).

8. In the Anonymous Verses, the letter *y*, which does not occur otherwise than as the *final* letter of a word, is invariably formed with a firmly made *straight* tail, gradually increasing in strength, thus:  . In conformity with his mode of writing the letter *p*, viz. by lifting his pen at the bottom of that letter, Richard Tilghman also, in his Letter of November 10th, 1771, invariably forms the letter *y* in the same manner when it *terminates* a word; and what gives value to the observation is the fact that in twelve instances out of seventeen wherein that letter occurs, either at the *beginning* or in the *middle* of a word, he forms it with a *loop*. In a single instance only has he lifted his pen at the bottom of a letter *y* at the beginning of a word, viz. in the word "yet," Plate 241, line 11. In that instance the character *&* joins the *y*, and the pen has been lifted at the bottom of the letter to rest the hand. On the other hand, Sir Philip Francis, in his Letter of 4th August, 1767 (Plates 105–108), makes no less than three variations from the straight letter *y* where that letter ends a word: in thirteen instances looped thus: ; three instances thus: ; and three thus: .

9. The letter *r* occurs upwards of thirty times in the Anonymous Verses;

in every instance formed as nearly as may be after one fashion, with its "shoulder" more or less distinctly, but *always* to the *left* side, thus: *r r*. It is the identical and invariable form of that letter as employed by Richard Tilghman. Sir Philip Francis frequently forms the letter *r* with its "shoulder" to the *right* side, thus: *r r*. He, moreover, forms that letter in at least ten or twelve different ways, as in the subjoined facsimiles, thus:—



All of these examples are taken from his Letter of 4th August, 1767.

The Anonymous Verses are, in my opinion, in the "clerical" or careful hand of Richard Tilghman. The specimen exhibited in Parkes and Merivale's 'Life of Sir Philip Francis,' vol. ii., is also in the clerical handwriting of Sir Philip Francis. In that specimen, consisting of only six lines of writing, there are *four* distinct varieties of the letter *r*. I find also *four* distinct varieties of the same letter in the writing of the Anonymous Paper which accompanied the Verses. For that and other cogent reasons, I fully believe the former, and not the latter, has been handwritten by him. It involves the extreme of improbability to suppose that Sir Philip Francis could have written the Anonymous Verses, discovering, as they do, no evidences whatever of disguise, and have confined himself inadvertently therein to one undeviating form of the letter *r*, so contrary to his usual habit of writing at the time when the Verses were written.

10. In the Anonymous Verses, four words commence with *sh*, viz.: "shew," on the 4th line of the 2nd Stanza, and "she," three times written in the 4th Stanza. In all these instances the letter *h* is commenced with an up-stroke taken from the letter *s*, involving in each a loop to the letter *h*. Six words commence with *sh* in Tilghman's Letter of November 10, 1771, viz.: "ship," Plate 241, line 3; "should," line 11; "shall," Plate 242, line 5; "should," line 15; "shore," Plate 243, line 2; "she," line 10. In every instance the letter *h* is a looped letter, like those in the Verses. There is no similar instance in all Francis's Letters. It appears to have been an inveterate habit with him to form a straight letter *h*, and to disconnect it from the letter *s* in all words commencing with *sh*. Six such words occur in his Letter of 4th August, 1767, viz.: "should," Plate 105, line 8; "shall," line 15; "she," Plate 106, line 12; "should," Plate 107, line 10; "shall," Plate 108, line 7; and "shall," line 11.

11. The double *t* of the word "attended," in the 2nd Stanza of the Anonymous Verses, is crossed with a loop embracing both letters, thus: . Tilghman, in his Letter of September 29th, 1773 (Plate 249, line 6), has quoted the line of the Verses in which that word occurs. The double *t* in the word "attended," in that quotation, is crossed precisely in the same manner as in the Verses. This mode of crossing double *t* was habitual with Tilghman, but there is no single instance of it in all Francis's Letters.

12. The word "ev'ry," divided by an apostrophe of unusual strength in the 2nd Stanza, is represented identically in the same quotation from the Verses, Plate 249, line 6.

I have hitherto confined my observations to the small letters in the various autographs herein referred to. To those who may demur to the inferences which I have drawn from them, I would direct attention to a comparison of the capital letters, abundantly sufficient, in my opinion, to convince any reasonable mind of the identity of the writing of the Verses with the hand of Tilghman.

13. In the Anonymous Verses there are seventeen letters of the alphabet used with capital letters; of these, there is not a single letter an exact counterpart of which cannot be found in the writing of Richard Tilghman; many

of them (and quite sufficient to decide the question) in a single specimen of his writing—that dated November 10th, 1771. The seventeen letters are *A*, *B*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *G*, *H*, *I*, *L*, *M*, *N*, *P*, *S*, *T*, *U*, *V*, *W*.

Stanza.	VERSES.	TILGHMAN.	
3.4			241.1
2.3			242.17
4.1			241.8
4.1			242.8
1.4			241.5
2.1			244.5
2.2			243.10
2.1			246.18
3.4			243.3
3.1			241.1
1.1			245.10
1.1			241.2

14. Compare the capital letters *A* beginning the last lines of the 2nd and 3rd Stanzas with the capital letter *A* which commences Tilghman's Letter of November 10th, 1771 (Plates 241–244). I find only one instance of a capital *A* made otherwise than as a small *a* amplified in a large amount of Sir Philip Francis's writing. In that instance it is finished with a loop crossing the letter, thus: (see his Letter, Plate 114, line 14).

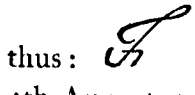
15. The two capital letters *B* in the 2nd Stanza, and those in the words "Bottle of Burgundy," in Tilghman's Letter of November 10th, 1771 (Plate 242, line 17), are identical. Sir Philip Francis more frequently forms that letter thus: (see the word "Betsy's," in his Letter of 4th August, 1767—Plate 106, line 5).

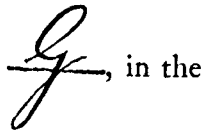
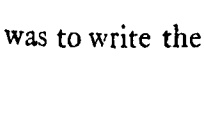
16. Compare the capital letter *D*, *looped* at the top, in the 4th Stanza, with the two capital letters *D* in the words "Dissipations" and "Drinking," written on the 8th and 10th lines of

Tilghman's Letter, Plate 241, and particularly with that letter more distinctly *looped* in the word "Death," written on the 9th line of his Letter of 3rd April. 1772. (Plate 245).

	VERSES.	TILGHMAN.	
Stanza. — 2.1			243.10
1.2			241.12
2.4			
2.1			238.21
1.2			242.1

17. A capital letter *E* (made like a Greek *E*) occurs once only in the Verses, viz. in the word "Eye," on the 1st line of the 4th Stanza. It is identical with the capital letter *E* which occurs twice in Tilghman's Letter of 10th November, 1771, viz. in the word "Eating," Plate 241, line 10, and in the word "England," Plate 242, line 8.

18. Compare the capital letter *F*, observing the mode of crossing it, in the word "Faces," in the 1st Stanza, with the capital *F* (commencing, as in the Verses, with a sudden and firm pressure of the pen) in the word "Francis," beginning Tilghman's Letter of 10th April, 1771 (Plate 241); also in the word "Friends," on the 5th line of the same Letter. Sir Philip Francis never commences that capital with such emphasis, and rarely, if ever, crosses it so completely *through*. He usually crosses it thus:  (see the words "Fury" and "Flanders," in his Letter of 4th August, 1767—Plate 106, lines 6 and 16).

19. Compare the capital letter *G*, written *above* the line of writing, thus:  , in the word "Graces," in the 1st and 2nd Stanzas, with the capital letter *G*, written also *above* the line of writing, in the word "Governor," on the 2nd line of Richard Tilghman's Letter, Plate 241, and the word "Godfrey," on the last page of the same Letter (Plate 244, line 5). The tendency of Sir Philip Francis was to write the letter upon the line, thus:  , and sometimes below it, as in the

word "Gravier," on the 2nd page of his Letter of 4th August, 1767 (Plate 106, line 15); nevertheless, he did not always write it in that peculiar manner.

20. The capital letter *H* in the word "Hour," in the 2nd Stanza, and that in the word "Heroine," written on 3rd page of Tilghman's Letter of 10th April, 1771 (Plate 243, line 10), are identical.

21. The looped capital *I*, thus: , in the 2nd and 3rd Stanzas, is also identical with each of those written on the 2nd and 3rd lines of Tilghman's Letter of 3rd April, 1772 (Plate 245), and with many others in the same Letter. A very clear instance occurs on the 2nd page of that Letter (Plate 246, line 8). I cannot find a single instance of a capital letter *I* looped at the top in upwards of 130 pages of Sir Philip Francis's writing. He habitually forms it thus: [1].

22. Compare the capital letters *L*, made uprightly, in the words "Language" and "Looks," on the last line of the 3rd Stanza, with that in the word "Looks," written on the 3rd page of Tilghman's Letter of November 10th, 1771 (Plate 243, line 3). All the capital letters *L* in that Letter, as also those in his Letter of 3rd April, 1772 (Plates 245–248), are formed in a similar manner.

23. Compare the stiffly formed capital letters *M*, in the words "Maid" and "Motion," in the 3rd Stanza, with that in the word "Month," on the 1st line of Tilghman's Letter of November 10th, 1771 (Plate 241).

24. Observe also the sprawling capital letter *N*, in the word "Nature," in the 1st Stanza, and compare it with that in the same word twice written on the 19th line of Tilghman's Letter of October 3rd, 1770 (Plate 239); also in the word "News," on the 10th line of his Letter of 3rd April, 1772 (Plate 245), and with other instances in the same Letter. This form of the capital letter *N* is habitually used by Tilghman. Sir Philip Francis very rarely uses it. He more frequently uses an amplified small *n*, thus: ,

[1] See page 73.

25. The capital letters *P* in the words "Part" and "Power," in the 1st and 2nd Stanzas, and those in the words "Place," "Passenger," and "People," on the 2nd and 3rd lines of Tilghman's Letter of November 10th, 1771 (Plate 241), are identical. No such capital letter can be found throughout all the writings of Sir Philip Francis which I have examined.

26. The capital letter *S* occurs four times in the Verses, and six times in Tilghman's Letter of 10th November, 1771. In every instance it is formed as closely as possible after one model, the commencing up-stroke of the letter passing either through or in close proximity to the dot which terminates the letter. Compare the word "She," on the last line of the Verses, with the same word in Tilghman's Letter of November 10th, 1771 (Plate 243, line 10).

27. Compare the capital letter *T*, looped at the top, and joined to a letter *h* five times in the Verses, with five similar instances in Tilghman's Letter of November 10th, 1771 (see Plate 241, lines 8 and 12; Plate 242, line 11; and Plate 243, lines 1 and 11).

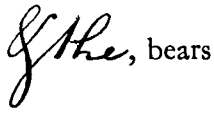
28. The capital letters *U* and *V* are the only letters which I cannot identify in the two Letters by Tilghman to which my attention was first directed; but I find them faithfully produced in two other Letters written by him, one of which has been subsequently placed in my hands, dated Middle Temple, Octr. 3^{d}. 1770 (Plates 237–240), and the other, dated Philadelphia, January 25th, 1773, is in the Letter Book, already referred to, and has not been photo-lithographed.

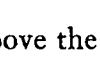
29. The word "Us" occurs three times written with a capital letter *U* in Tilghman's Letter of January 25th, 1770. In each instance that letter resembles in the closest manner the capital *U* in the word "Use," on the 4th line of the 2nd Stanza. This is the only instance in my Report in which I give a facsimile from a Letter that has not been photo-lithographed.

30. In Tilghman's Letter of Octr. 3^{d}. 1770, the capital letter *V* occurs five times. In each instance it is identical with the capital letter *V* in the word "Venus," written on the 1st line of the 2nd Stanza (see the word "Vitæ," Plate 238, line 7; the word "Virtues," twice written on the same page, lines 10 and 21; also the words "Virtue" and "Vice," Plate 239, line 17).

31. The two capital letters *W* in the first of the Anonymous Verses closely resemble those written in Richard Tilghman's Letter of November 10th, 1771, in the following words:—"Without," Plate 242, line 1; "Winter," Plate 243, line 6; "Wishes," Plate 244, line 3. An inspection of the comparative facsimiles, in pages 284 and 285, will discover a clear identity of every capital letter in the Verses with the handwriting of Richard Tilghman.

Some of the characters of Francis, particularly the capital letters, *E*, *G*, *H*, and *S*, being formed after the same models as some of the letters in the Verses, have a near general resemblance to them; yet, notwithstanding this resemblance, they will not bear the same critical comparison with them as the formations of Tilghman.

32. The next observation to which I shall direct attention, when taken alone, convinces me of the correctness of the two opinions I have herein endeavoured to justify. The word "and," in the two instances where it occurs in the *body* of the Verses, is abbreviated, as in the following facsimile thus: It is only written in full when it *commences* a line; and I may presume that few persons would commit the impropriety of commencing a sentence or the first word of a line of poetry with that abbreviation, however habitual it might be to them in other positions. The word "and" does not occur written in full in either of Richard Tilghman's Letters dated November 10th, 1771 (Plates 241–244), or Octr. 3^{d}. 1770 (Plates 237–240), except in one instance, and that at the *beginning* of a sentence on the 2nd page of his Letter of Octr 3^{d} 1770 (Plate 238, line 15). The character substituted by him, on the 3rd line of his Letter, Plate 241, thus:  , bears the closest comparison with that adopted in the Verses. Tilghman, moreover, *invariably* carries it *below* the line of writing, and when it stands *alone*, as on the 10th line of his Letter of 10th April, 1771 (Plate 241), it terminates in a dot, precisely as it does in the Verses.

Sir Philip Francis, on the other hand, constantly writes the word "and" in full; he also frequently abbreviates it (see pages 74–76), but when he does so he invariably writes it above the line of writing, thus:  , and in no instance terminates it in a dot, as in the Verses.

33. When referring to the handwriting of Sir Philip Francis, I have made no

selection from the numerous Letters placed in my hands written by him, but have confined my observations, except where they are of general application, to a single Letter only, viz. to the first in order in the Letter Book: so also I have, as far as possible, limited my comparisons of Tilghman's handwriting with that of the Verses by referring to a single Letter written by him, viz. that of the 10th November, 1771.

The general character of the writing of the Anonymous Verses is, in my opinion, essentially different from that of the writing of Sir Philip Francis, and I doubt the capacity of his hand to assume, even after much practice, the particular handwriting of the Verses. On the very first glance I had of Tilghman's Letters, I recognised in them a peculiar ease and freedom given to a stunted style of writing, which so struck me on my first inspection of the Verses, and which, in my mind, contrasted with the bolder style of the writing in Sir Philip Francis's Letters.

Those Verses, as already observed, present no indications whatever of being written in a feigned hand. Each line is formally set out, and the Stanzas are separated from each other in the orthodox manner of writing poetry; and being free from corrections and alterations, I am convinced that they are the carefully written copy of an original composition made in the bona fide handwriting of the transcriber. The supposition that Sir Philip Francis handwrote them is entirely negatived by the absence from them of any valid evidences of his hand, and more effectually by the presence in them of an abundance of absolute points of identity with Richard Tilghman's hand. Those points of identity have been herein fully demonstrated. Under their influence, and that of the several observations which I have made in connection with them, I repeat my opinion in the strongest manner, that the Anonymous Verses have been written by no other hand than that of Richard Tilghman, and could not have been written by Sir Philip Francis.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

CHARLES CHABOT.

London . 6. February 1768.

Sir.

The observations contained in the inclosed paper are thrown together and sent to you upon a supposition that the Tax therein referred to will make part of the budget. if Lord North should have fallen upon any other Scheme, they will be useless. but if the case appears, & they shall appear to have any weight, the author is satisfied, that no man in this Country can make so little use of them, or place them in so advantageous a light as Mr Grenville.

It is not, Sir, either necessary or proper to make myself known to You at present. hereafter I may perhaps claim that honour. in the mean Time be assured that this is a voluntary disinterested attachment to Your Person founded ~~founded~~ on an esteem for Your Spirit and understanding which has, & will for ever engage

me in Your Cause. A number of late publications, falsely attributed to men of far greater talent) may convince You of my Zeal, if not of my Capacity to serve You.

The only Condition, which I presume to make with You, is that You will not only not shew these Papers to any body, but that You will never mention Your having received them.

— C —

London. 3d. September. 1760.

Sir.

It may not be improper you should know that the Publick is entirely mistaken with respect to the Author of some late publications in the Newspapers. Be assured that he is a Man quite unknown & unconnected. He has attached himself to your cause and to You alone, upon motives, which, if he were of consequence enough to give weight to his Judgement, would be thought as honourable to You, as they are truly ~~[illegible]~~ satisfactory to himself. At a proper time he will solicit the honour of being known to You: he has present important reasons for wishing to be concealed.

Some late papers, in which the Cause of this Country, and the defence of your Character and measures have been thought not ill maintained; — others, signed Lucius, and one or two upon the new Commission of trade, with a multitude of others, came from this hand. They have been taken Notice of by the Publick.

May I plead it as a Merit with You, Sir, that no motives of avarice shall ever discover the Author of this Letter. If an earnest wish to serve you gives me any claim, let me entreat you not to suffer a hint of this Communication to escape you to any body

London. 20th. October. 1769.

Sir

I beg leave to offer you a letter, repriated in the inclosed paper under the signature of Atticus, as finished with more care than I have usually time to give to their productions. The town is curious to know the author .. Every body guesses, some are quite certain, and all are mistaken. Some, who bear your character, give it to the Rockingham's; [a policy I do not understand] and Mr Bourke denies it, as he would a fact, which he wished to have believed.

It may be proper to assure You that no man living knows or even suspects the Author. I have no connection with any party; except a voluntary Attachment to <u>your</u> Cause & Person. It began with Amusement, grew into habit, was confirmed by a closer attention to Your principles & Conduct, & is now heated into Passion. The <u>Grand Council</u> was mine; & I may say, with truth, almost every thing that, for two Years past, has attracted the Attention of the publick.

I am conscious these papers have been very unequal; but you will be candid enough to make allowances for a Man, who writes absolutely without Materials or instruction. For want of hints of this kind, I fear I frequently mistake your views, as well as the true point, whereon you would choose to rest the questions, in which your name is concerned. But this is an inconvenience without a remedy. I must continue to argue for you, as I would for myself in the same circumstances, as far as I understand yours. Until You are Minister, I must not permit myself to think of the honour of being known to You. When that happens, You will not find me a needy or a troublesome dependant. In the Mean time, I must console myself with reflecting, that, by resisting every temptation of vanity, & even the great desire I have of being honoured with Your notice, I give You some assurance, that You may depend upon my firmness and fidelity hereafter.

It is a melancholy consideration that, when every commodity, which can admit of a Tax, is loaded to the last point, it shd. still be necessary for Government to contrive new taxes. The necessity of doing so in time of peace makes our situation still more alarming. But if we saw ourselves at the mercy of Banglers, who might recommend Taxes, without the smallest conception of the manner in which they are to operate, or even of the first principles of taxation, we shd. be really reduced to a state of despair. In such unskilful hands, every drug is a poison, every weight an oppression. It is now generally known that the Ministry will be obliged to borrow one million eight hundred thousand pounds for the service of the year, & that a new fund, to be appropriated for the interest of this sum, is to arise from a tax or duty of 3d. in the pound on every species of thing sold in this Country by publick Auction with a very unreasonable Exception in favour of the East India Company's Sales. This I am well assured, (and if I were not well assured I cd. hardly believe it) is the main foundation of the intended tax, tho' I may not be exact in minuter particulars. Now, Sir, without entering into the merits of the Contrivee, permit me to state to You some objections to the Scheme itself, which tho' not less obvious than important, I presume have never once occurred to his mind. The publication of this paper may perhaps come time enough to rouse him from his dream, & to prevent his doing a national Mischief in his Sleep. —

I believe it will be admitted that to lay a

new tax indiscriminately & equally upon almost all saleable Commodities, which have been severally taxed before, some heavily & some lightly, shews a great want of Judgement as well as a poverty of Contrivance in the first formation of the tax. To make no distinction between things, which have already different burthens laid upon them, & to distribute the new burthen indifferently upon them all, may be short work indeed, but it is a sign of a bungling confused plan, and just as absurd as if a waggoner, who had a hundred weight of goods to carry more than he expected, were never to examine which of his waggons were laden before, & which not, but to divide the last load equally among them all, & so let some break down, while the rest travelled empty. So much for the generality of the Tax. — The next thing to be considered, particularly by gentlemen of landed Estates, is that, as the mode of selling Estates by auction is become very general, a tax on that mode is in effect an additional land tax, & will be found a heavy Clog upon a most eligible way of alienating landed property. It is unnecessary to say that every impediment of this kind ought to be strongly discouraged in a commercial Country, whose welfare depends on the number of moderate fortunes engaged in trade. Whether the landed gentlemen, who thought it necessary to take off one Shilling in the pound last year, will submit to this indirect recomposition of a part of it, is a point, which I shall leave to them to consider. Permit me only to observe that this method of encreasing the land tax will be particularly

gracious, as it must fall chiefly on persons, who may be compelled by distress of circumstances, or the fall of some sudden Emergence, to part with their Estates.

My third Objection is that this tax will fall heaviest upon that part of the people, who stand most in need of ease & relief from the legislature, & whose distresses, if they can not be relieved, certainly require no aggravation. It must fall on the Creditors of Bankrupts, whose effects tho' they may not produce half a crown in the pound, are to be liable to a farther defalcation; as if the loss of a considerable part of the debt were not sufficiently severe, or as if it were the office of the legislature to encrease the load of Misfortune, and to combine with the bankrupt in completing the Creditor's destruction. But this is not the only blow levelled at the poor. Let it be considered, that it is chiefly the lower rank of Mechanicks & tradesmen, who, to raise ready money, have recourse to Auctions, where their goods find a quick, if not a profitable vent. If you deprive them of this resource, by laying a new tax upon their labour (the materials of which have probably been taxed in various shapes before) what can be the Consequence, but that their goods will perish in their shops, or be seized by their Creditors, or be sold at such a loss as Necessity & despair may force them to submit to; besides that, in many instances it may be more advantageous to sell a thing for two thirds of its value today, than for its full value six months hence. But what I suppose

the Chancellor of the Exchequer has never once considered what the addition of three pence in the pound to the present exorbitant demands made by Auctioneers, will amount to, nor how the industry of a poor man can bear such an accumulated Oppression. I have often heard it said & by judicious people, that the suffering a number of small auctions in this town is a perpetual source of fraud, & an impediment to trade. perhaps it may be so; but I fear it is an inconvenience we must submit to, untill some other method of raising ready money upon the produce of their industry, be laid open to the poor. at all events the tax in question will rather confirm and sanctify this fraudulent mode of traffick, by placing that which was only connived at before, under the immediate notice and protection of the legislature; or if it should operate as a prohibition, the tax will defeat itself as a fund of revenue, & the deficiency fall on the sinking fund, which we are told it is the Object of Govern.t to relieve.

A fourth objection, which appears to me more considerable than any of the former, arises from the method, in which all auctions are to be conducted. when the Seller finds that there is less bidden for his property than he can afford to take for it, he is of course obliged to buy it in himself; so that, besides the Auctioneers profits, he must pay a tax to Government, on account of a supposed sale of goods.

which never ~~existed~~ were sold; nor do I see a possibility of framing a Clause to relieve such a Case, without giving occasion to a multitude of frauds & perjuries. These are matters however, which it's no wonder great folks should be unacquainted with. Exempt as they are from the wants and distresses of life, they know nothing of the shifts, to which the poor man & his poverty are reduced. But there is another point, which I am astonished that the great persons, who frame & recommend this tax, should not understand. I am astonished that a Chancellor of the Exchequer shd know so little of the laws relative to buying & selling as to attempt an act which directly invades this whole branch of the common & Statute law of England. It forms a Contradiction, no less daring than absurd, to all the wisdom of our Ancestors. Until this day it has been a Maxim of the English Legislature to give every possible encouragement to the most open & publick methods of disposing of property by bargain & sale. to this End fairs and Markets have from time to time been Established, with grants of particular immunities & of exclusive privileges. Perhaps our Ancestors were mistaken, but it has been the prejudice of more than a thousand years, that the more publick and notorious the transaction of Sales was made, the more likely it would be to prevent Collusions & Frauds in traffick, & consequently the more

deserving of <u>favour & indulgence</u> from the legislature. Now, for, it cannot be denied that an auction, next to established fairs & Markets, is the most open & publick method of sale that can be imagined. At least if Frauds are committed in this way, they ought to be corrected by regulations, not the thing itself restrained or suppressed by a tax, which, in many instances must amount to a prohibition, & when that happens, will at once defeat itself & injure the publick.

London. 2d. January 1768

My Lord:

If I were to give way to the first impressions of respect & veneration which I have always entertained for your character or to the warmth of my attachment to your person I should write a longer letter than your Lordship would have time or inclination to read But the information, which I am going to lay before you, will, I hope, make a short one not unworthy your Attention I have an opportunity of knowing something, & you may depend on my discretion

Private & secret

to be opened by Lord Chatham only

The Stops in the date "London. 2d. January 1768" have been made by hand, as distinct as they appear in the original Facsimile in the Chatham Correspondence.

not secret

London. 14th January. 1772.

I will not presume to trouble Your Lordship with any assurances, however sincere, of my respect & esteem for your character, and admiration of your abilities. Retired & unknown, I live in the shade & have only a speculative Ambition. — In the warmth of my Imagination, I sometimes conceive, that, when Genius exerts his utmost faculties in the service of his Country, he approaches in Theory to that exalted Character, which Lord Chatham alone fills up and uniformly supports in Action.

JUNIUS.

Private

To the Earl of Chatham

The Dates in the date London 14th January 1772 have been made by hand as distinct as they appear in the original Facsimile in the Chatham Correspondence

Sir. The advocates of the Ministry are, in point of ignorance, upon a Level with the people; whose Conduct they defend. The questions they ask are suicide to their own Cause. Gibraltar & Minorca were yielded to England by the Treaty of Utrecht, to which Treaty Spain acceded; and, admitting that they have never ~~never~~ given up in form their Claim to Jamaica, it is also true that, since the Treaty of Utrecht, they have never asserted such a Claim, much less have we allowed it to be inserted in any treaty between the two Crowns. But, sir, the real question is not what declarations or pretensions Spain may have thought proper to advance, but, what declarations or pretensions on their part, have we admitted & accepted? To support a fair Comparison between the Terms, on which we hold the above places, & those on which Port Egmont is restored, it should be proved that Spain, in some treaty between us & them, have asserted their Claim of prior Right to Jamaica, Gibraltar & Minorca, & that we have, with equal formality, accepted a Treaty containing such an express Reservation, & declared ourselves satisfied with it. The Ministry wo^d then have an example in point; ~~our gracious Sovereign~~ who, sympathising with Jerry Dyson, Vindex, delights in Precedents of this kind, might say to himself, with heartfelt Satisfaction;

"It is true, as a ~~thing~~ I am degraded ;— as a Man I am Dishonoured ;—
" as a young Man, I am branded for ever ; but, Thanks to the Genius
of Cowardice, I have not descended lower than some of my Predecessors.

This, Sir, you see, is mere Matter of Supposition, for in reality
his Majesty could not with Truth administer such Consolation to
himself. There is no Precedent in the English history, that comes home to the
present Case ;— his Majesty's reputation, in this instance, stands unrivalled.
He has all the Glory & all the Merit of establishing a singular Example, which,
when his royal posterity shall have Occasion to surrender the Rights & Honour
of the Crown of England, they will look back to with pleasure. Neither is
the best of Sovereigns left destitute of all Resources, if, in the melancholy
Moments of Reflection, he should look round him for Consolation.
He may find it in abundance in the magnitudo infamia, the Excess of Infamy,

in which his faithful Servants [to say nothing of his own royal
Inclinations] have successfully Laboured to make their
Friend immortal.

I am, Sir, [with all possible Contempt for a
stigmatised Coward] your humble Servant
Vindex

The part of this Letter with lines across it was never published it is referred to in Junius to Woodfall N° 33.

Dedication

To the English Nation

I dedicate to You a Collection of Letters, written by one of yourselves for the common benefit of us all. They would never have grown to this size, without your continued encouragement and applause. To me they originally owe nothing, but a healthy, sanguine Constitution. Under Your Care they have thriven. To You they are indebted for whatever Strength or beauty they possess. When Kings & Ministers are forgotten, when the force & direction of personal Satyr is no longer understood, & when Measures are only felt in their remotest Consequences, this book will, I believe, be found to contain principles, worthy to be transmitted to posterity. When You leave the unimpaired, hereditary freehold to Your Children, you do but half Your duty. Both Liberty & Property are precarious, unless the possessors have Sense & Spirit enough to defend them. — This is not the Language of Vanity. If I am a vain Man, my gratification lies within a narrow Circle. I am the sole depositary of my own Secret, & it shall perish with me.

— These are

Truths unquestionable. — If they make no impression, it is because they are too vulgar & notorious. But the inattention or indifference of the nation has continue ~~lasted~~ ~~[illegible]~~ soon be in Your power. If Junius lives, You shall often be reminded of it If, when the opportunity presents itself, You neglect to do Your duty to Yourselves & to Your Posterity, — to God & to Your Country, I shall have one Consolation left, in common with the meanest & basest of Mankind. — Civil Liberty may still last the Life of Junius.

Preface.

The Encouragement given to a Multitude of spurious, mangled publications of the Letters of Junius, persuades me, that a compleat Edition, corrected & improved by the Author, will be favourably received. The printer will readily acquit me of any view to my own profit I undertake this troublesome Task, merely to observe a Man, who has deserved well of me, & of the public; & who, on my Account, has been exposed to an expensive, tyrannical prosecution. For these reasons, I give to Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall, & to him alone, my right, interest, & property in these letters, as fully & compleatly, to all intents & purposes, as an Author can possibly convey his property in his own Works to another.

"In short, whoever considers what it is, that constitutes the moving principle
"of what we call great affairs; & the invincible Sensibility of man to the
"Opinion of his fellow Creatures, will not hesitate to affirm that, if it were
"possible for the liberty of the press to exist in a despotic government, and,
"(what is not less difficult) for it to exist without changing the Constitution,
"this liberty of the press wd. alone form a Counterpoise to the power of the prince.
"If, for example, in any Empire of the East, a Sanctuary cd. be found, which
"rendered respectable by the ancient religion of the people, might insure safety to those,
"who shd. bring thither their Observations of any kind; and that, from thence,
"printed papers shd. issue, which, under a certain seal, might be equally
"respected; and which, in their daily appearance, shd. examine freely
"discuss, the Conduct of the Cadis, the Bashaws, the Vizir, the Divan, & the
"Sultan himself, that wd. introduce immediately some degree of Liberty."

to Lord Barrington

My Lord. I am a Scotchman, & can assure your Lordship, that I do not esteem my Country, or the Natives of it the less, because we are not so happy as to be honoured with Lord Barrington's favourable Opinion. From a pamphlet, which lately fell in my way, I perceive that there is something in the temper of the Scots, that does not suit the manly, sterling virtue, which distinguishes your own worthy Character. We are too insolent to those beneath us, & too obsequious to our Superiors; & with such a disposition must never hope to find favour with Lord Barrington! "And Cockburne, like most of his Countrymen, is as abject to those above him, as he is "insolent to those below him". These are your Words, given under your hand, as the solemn, deliberate Opinion of ~~the Secret~~ his Majesty's Secretary at War. Such a Censure coming from a Man of honour, good sense, or integrity, might perhaps have some Weight with the thoughtless, or uncandid. But when it comes from a Man, whose whole Life has been employed in acting the part of a false, cringing, fawning, time serving Courtier, - from ~~the~~ a Man, who never had a different opinion from the Minister for the time being, & who has always contrived to keep some lucrative place or other, under twenty different administrations, I am not so much offended at the reproach itself; which you have thought proper to throw upon the Scots, as I am shocked at the unparallelled impudence of applying your own individual Character to a whole Nation. — It seems my Countrymen are abject to those above them. Pray, my good Lord, by what System of Conduct have you recommended yourself to every succeeding Minister for these last twenty years? - Was it by maintaining your opinion upon all occasions, with a blunt, firm integrity, or was it by the basest & vilest servility to every Creature, that had power to do

you either good or civil? — But we are insolent to those below us. Indeed, my Lord, you paint from your own heart. There is Courage at least in our Composition. It is the Coward who fawns upon those above him. It is the Coward, that is insolent, where ever he dares to be so. You have had some Lessons, which have made you more cautious than you used to be. You have reason to remember that modest, humble Merit will not always bear to be insulted by an upstart in office. For the future, my little Lord, be more sparing of your reflections upon the Scots. We pay no regard to the Calumny of anonymous Writers, & despise the Malignity of John Wilkes. But when a Man, so high in office, as you are, pretends to give an odious Character of a whole Nation, & tells his Name to it, we should deserve the reproach, if we did not resent it. You are so detested & despised by all all parties, because all parties know you, that England, Scotland, & Ireland have but one Wish concerning you, & that is, that, as you have shewn yourself a fawning Traitor to every party thereon, with which you ever were connected, so all parties unite in may loading you with infamy & Contempt.

Scotus.

N° 1.

Mr. Woodfall

Sir. I am preparing a paper, which You shall have on or before Saturday night. Advertise it for Monday — Junius on Monday

If any enquiry is made about these papers, I shall rely on Yr. giving me a hint.

C

To Mr Woodfall

Printer

Paternoster row.

N° 2.

N° 2. friday.

Sir

It is essentially necessary that the inclosed should be published to morrow, if the great Question comes on on Monday. Lord Granby is already staggered.

If You shd receive any answer to it, You will oblige me much by not publishing it, till after Monday.

C

In numbering and dating the Sixty Three Private Letters from Junius to Mr Henry Sampson Woodfall, the numbers and Dates printed by Mr George Woodfall in "Woodfall's Junius" in 1812, have, for convenience of reference, been scrupulously followed.

3

Saturday.

Sir. I have rec.d the favor of Yr Note. From the Contents of it, I imagine You may have something to communicate to me. If that be the Case, I beg you will be particular; & also that you will tell me candidly whether you know or suspect who I am. Direct a letter to Mr. William Middleton, to be left at the bar of the new exchange Coffeehouse on Monday, as early as you think proper.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient & most humble Servant

C

private.

Sir. Mr. Newbery having thought proper to reprint my Letters, I wish at least he had done it correctly. You will oblige me much by giving him the following hint, ~~on Monday~~ tomorrow. The inclosed when you think proper.

"Mr. Newbery having thought proper to reprint Junius's Letters might at least have corrected the Errata as we did constantly.

" Page 1st. line 13. for national, read rational
" page 3d. line 4. for was read were
" page 5. line 15. for indisputable read indispensable
" ~~letter~~ 7. line 4. for in all Mazes — read in all the mazes
" page 15. line 24. for rightest read brightest
" page 48. line 2. for indiscreet read indirects

I did not expect more than the life of a newspaper, but if this man will keep me alive, let me live without being offensive.

Speciosa quaro pascere tigres.

Friday Night.

Sir.

I have no manner of objection to your reprinting the Letters, if you think it will answer, which I believe it might, before Newbery appeared. if you determine to do it, give me a hint, & I will send you more Errata (indeed they are innumerable!) & perhaps a preface. I really doubt whether I shall write any more under this signature. I am weary of attacking a set of Pirates, whose writings are too dull to furnish me even with the materials of Contention, & whose measures are too gross & direct to be the Subject of Argument or to require Illustration.

That Lauchlan is a wretched but a dangerous fool. he had the impudence to go to Lord G. Sackville, whom he had never spoken to, to ask him, whether or no he

he was the Authour of of Junius — take care of him.

Whenever you have any thing to communicate to me, let the hint be thus C at the usual place.

It so directs to Mr. John Pretley at the same Coffee house where it is absolutely impossible I shd. be known.

I did not mean the latin to be printed.

I wish Lord Holland may acquit himself with honour. If his Cause be good, he shd. at once have published that Account, to which he refers in his letter to the Mayor.

pray tell me whether George Onslow means to keep his word with you; about prosecuting: — YES or NO will be sufficient. Your Lycurgus is a Mr. Kent a young Man of good parts, upon Town. And so I wish you a good Night. Yours C.

No. 5.

to
Mr. Woodfall. private

No. 6.

Sunday.

Sir/ The spirit of your letter convinces me that you are a much better writer than most of the people, whose works you publish. Whether you have guessed well or ill must be left to our future Acquaintance. For the matter of assistance, be assured that, if a question should arise upon any writings of mine, you shall not want it. Yet you see how things go, and I fear my Assistance would not avail you much. For the other points of printing &c it does not depend upon us at present. My own works you shall constantly have, & in point of money, be assured you never shall suffer. I wish the inclosed to be announced tomorrow, conspicuously for tuesday. I am not capable of writing any thing more finished. Your ~~friends~~ Your Verdicus is Mr. Whitworth. I assure you I have not confided in him.

Sir. Wednesday night

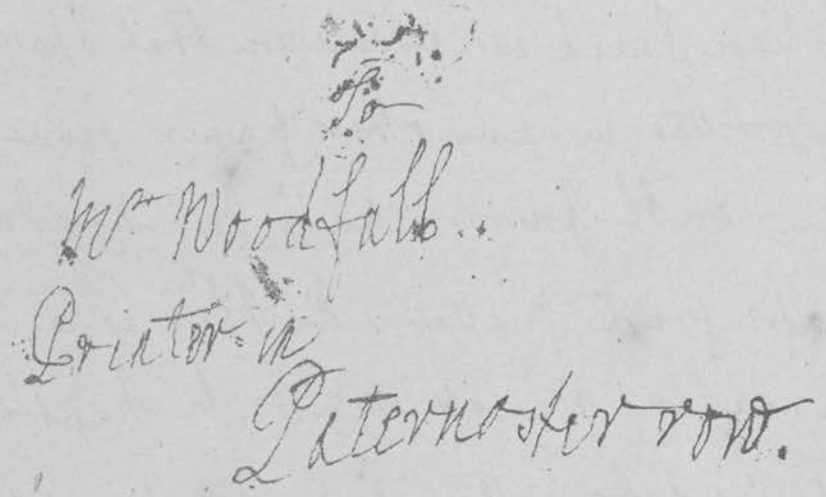
I have been some days in the Country, & cd not conveniently send for Yr Letter until this night. Your correction was perfectly right. The sense required it, & I am much obliged to You. When I spoke of innumerable Blunders, I meant Newberry's pamphlet; for I must confess that upon the whole Your papers are very correctly printed.

Do with my Letters exactly what you please. I sd think that, to make a better figure than Newbery, some others of my letters may be added, & to throw out a hint, that You have reason to suspect they are by the same Author. If you adopt this plan, I shall point out those which I wod recommend; for You know, I do not nor indeed have time to give Equal Care to them all.

I know Mr Onslow perfectly. He is a false silly fellow. Depend upon it, he will get nothing but shame by contending with Horne.

I believe I need not assure you that I have never written in any other paper since I began with Yours. As to Junius, I must wait for fresh Matter, as this is a Character, which must be kept up with Credit. Avoid prosecutions, if you can, but above all things avoid the Houses of Parlt — There is no contending with them. At present You are safe; for this Ho. of Com. has lost all dignity & dare not do any thing. —

Adieu! C


Mr Woodfall
Printer in
Paternoster row.

Private.

Sir. The last letter you printed was idle & improper, & I assure you printed against my own opinion. The Truth is, There are people about me, whom I wod wish not to contradict, & who had rather see Juniuses in the papers, than not at all. I wish it cod be recalled. Suppose you were to say:- We have some reason to suspect that the last Letter signed Junius in this paper was not written by the real Junius, tho' the Observation escaped us at the time, or if you can hit off any thing Yourself more plausible, You will much oblige me, but without a positive Assertion. Don't let it be the same day with the inclosed. - begging your pardon for this trouble, I am Sir Your friend & humble Servant &c

W. Woodfall

Private. Friday night.

Sir.

I beg you will advertise, Junius to another Duke in our next. If Monday's papers be engaged, then let it be for Tuesday, but not advertised till Monday. You shall have it some time tomorrow night. It cannot be corrected & copied sooner. I mean to make it worth printing.

Yours C.

Thursday night.

I shall be glad to see the pacquet you speak of. It can not come from the Candishes, tho there be no End of the family: They would not be so silly as to put their arms on the Cover. As to me, be assured that it is not in the Nature of things that they, or you, or anybody Else should ever know me, unless I make myself known. All arts or Inquiries, or rewards would be equally ineffectual. —

As to you, it is clearly my Opinion, that you have nothing to fear from the D. of B.— I reserve some things expressly to awe him, in case he sh.d think of bringing you before the H.o of L.— I am sure I can threaten him privately with such a Storm, as wo.d him tremble even, his Grave. — You may send tomorrow to the same place without farther Notice, & if you have

any thing of Your own to communicate, I shall be glad to hear it. C

to Mr. Printer Woodfall

in

Paternoster row.

Sir. I have been out of town these three weeks, & tho' I got your last, could not conveniently answer it. Be so good as to signify to Bills, either by word of mouth or in your own hand, "that his papers are received, "& that I shd. have been ready to do him the service he desires "but at present it wod. be quite useless to the parties, & might offend "some persons who at last must be offended." — As to Mr. Mortimer, only make him some civil excuse.

I should be much obliged to you if you wod. reprint (& in the front page if not improper or inconvenient,) a letter in the London Evening Post of last night to the D. of G—n. If it had not been anticipated, I shd. have touched upon the subject myself. However it is not ill done, & it is very material that it shd. spread. — The person alluded to is Lord Denbigh. I shd. think you might venture him with a D. as it stands few people can guess who is meant.

The only thing that hinders my pushing the subject of my last letter is really the fear of ruining that poor devil Gansel, & those other Blockheads. — But as soon as a good subject offers. — Your types really wanted mending.

C

No. 11.

To

Mr. Woodfall

Or in her

Absence

No. 12.

Junius to Woodfall. Private No. 12. Nov. 12. 1769.

Sir/ I return you the letter you sent me yesterday. A man, who can neither write common English, nor spell, is hardly worth attending to. It is probably a trap for me. I shall however be glad to know what the fool means. If he writes again, open his letter, & if it contains any thing worth my knowing send it. Otherwise not.

Instead of C in the usual place — say only a letter, when you have occasion to write to me again. — I shall understand you.

Thursday:

As I do not choose to answer for any body's sins but my own, I must desire you to say tomorrow, "We can assure the public "that the Letter, signed A.B. relative to the Duke of Rutland, is "not written by the Author of Junius".

I sometimes change my signature, but could have no reason to change the paper, especially for one that does not circulate half so much as yours.

C

for the future open all letters to me, & don't send them; unless of importance — I can give you light ~~[illegible]~~.

To Mr. Woodfall printer in

Paternoster Row.

I wo^d. wish the paper (No. 2) might be advertised for tuesday: —

By way of intelligence, you may inform the public that Mr. Delafontaine, for his secret services in the Ally, is appointed Barrack Master to the Savoy.

I hope Vaughan has got his papers again

~~Woodfall~~

Sir, You may tell Mr. V.* that I did not receive his Letter 'till last night & have not had time to look into the paper annexed. I cannot at present understand what use I can make of it. It certainly shall not be an ungenerous one to him. — If he or his Council know how to act, I have saved him already and really without intending it.

The facts are all literally true. Mr. Hine's place is Customer at the port of Exeter. Col. Burgoyne received £4.000. for it. — to mend the Matter, the Money was raised by Contribution, & the Subscribers quartered upon Mr. Hine. — Among the rest, one Doctor Brook a Physician at Exeter has £100 a.y. out of the Salary.

I think you might give these particulars in your own way to the Public.

As to yourself, I am convinced the Ministry will not venture to attack you. They dare not submit to such an Inquiry. If they do, shew no fear, but tell them plainly you will justify

& subpanâ Mr. Hine, Burgoyne & Bradshaw of the Treas
— that will silence them at once. — As to the A. of C.
there may be more danger. but even there I am fully
satisfied the Ministry will exert themselves to quash
such an Inquiry, & on the other side, you will have
friends: — but they have been so grossly abused on
all sides, that they will hardly begin with you.

Tell Vaughan his paper shall be returned.

I am now meditating a capital & I hope a final
Piece; — you shall hear of it shortly.

Ex.

Mr. Woodfall Printer

in

Paper Costa row

for material Affection, for god's sake read maternal. it is in the 6 Par.

The rest is excellently done

To

Mr Woodfall, Printer,

Paternoster row.

Sir with the inclosed Alterations. I think our paper might appear. As to Embowelling, do whatever You think proper, provided You leave it intelligible to vulgar Capacities. — but wo? not it be the shortest way at once to print it in an Anonymous pamphlet? judge for Yourself.

I rate it acurately at the Anxiety of your Situation. At the same time I am strongly inclined to think that you will not be called upon. — They can not deal without subjecting Mike's affair to an Inquiry, which wo? be worse than death to the Minister. As it is, they are more seriously stabbed with this last stroke, than all the rest. — At any rate, stand firm — I mean with all the humble appearances of Contrition! — if You trim or faulter, you will lose friends without gaining others.

— Vaughan has done right in publishing his letter. it defends him more effectually than all his Nonsense. — I believe I shall give him a Gift. to I really think he has been punished infinitely beyond his Merits. —— I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; but if things take the turn I expect, you shall know me by my Works.

J

private

Sir I desired Mr. . . . . a not to write to me untill I gave him notice. he must therefore blame himself, if the detention of his papers has been inconvenient to him. pray tell him this, & that he shall have them in a day or two. I shall also keep my promise to him, but to do it immediately wo^d be useless to him, & unadviseable with respect to myself.

I believe you may banish your fears. The information will only be for a misdemeanour, and I am advised that no Jury, especially in these times, will find it. I suspect the Channel, thro' which you have your Intelligence. It will be carried on coldly. You must not write to me again, but be assured I will never desert you. I received your letters regularly, but it was impossible to answer them sooner. You shall hear from me again shortly. C

To

Mr Woodfall.

Printer

Paternoster row

private

Sir When you consider to what excessive Enmities I may be exposed, you will not wonder at my caution. I really have not known how to procure Your last. if it be not of any great Moment, I would wish you to recall it. If it be, give me a hint. If your Affair sh^d. come to a trial, ~~you~~ and you sh^d. be found guilty, you will then let me know what Expence falls particularly on yourself; for I understand you are ingaged with other proprietors. Some way or other you shall be reimbursed. But seriously & bonâ fide, I think it is impossible.

C

To Mr. Woodfall.

I have carefully perused the Info.n. it is so loose & ill drawn, that I am perswaded Mr. De Grey cd. not have had a hand in it. — Their inserting the whole proves they had no strong passages to fix on. I still think it will not be tried. If it sh.d it is not possible for a Jury to find you guilty. —

Saturday.

tomorrow before 12 you shall have a Sheet,
it will be absolutely necessary that it
should be published on Monday.
Could it be possible to give Notice of tonight
or tomorrow, by a dispersing a few
Handbills. Pray do whatever you
think will answer the purpose best, for
now is the Crisis.

C

To—
Mr Woodfall
Printer in
Paternoster Row

No. 22.

Sunday

This letter is written wide, & I suppose will not fill two Columns. for God's sake, let it appear to morrow. —

I hope you received my Note of yesterday.

Lord Chatham is determined to go to the Hall to support the Westminster Remonstrance. I have no doubt that we shall conquer them at last.

C

No. 23.

friday Morn.

private

by your affected Silence you encourage an idle Opinion that I am the Author of the Whig &c. tho' you very well know the contrary. I neither admire the Writer nor his Idol. I hope you will soon set this Matter right.

C

Monday Evening. Sir. The inclosed, tho' begun within these few days, has been greatly laboured. It is very correctly copied, & I beg you will take Care that it be literally printed as it stands. I dont think You run the least Risque. We have got the Rascal down. let us strangle him if it be possible. This paper sh^d properly have appeared tomorrow, but I cou^d not compass it. so let it be announced tomorrow & printed Wednesday. — if you sh^d have any Fears, & intreat you to send it early enough to Miller, to appear tomorrow night in the London Ev^g Post. — In that Case, you will oblige me by informing the public tomorrow in Your own Paper, that a real Junius will appear at Night in the London. — Miller, I am sure, will have no Scruples.

Lord Mansfield has thrown Ministry into Confusion, by suddenly resigning the Office of Speaker of the H. of L^ds.

Wednesday night.

I shall be very glad to hear from
Your friend at Guildhall. — You may,
if you think proper, give my Compliment
to him, & tell him, if it be possible,
I will make use of any Materials
he gives me. I will never rest
'till I have destroyed or expelled
that Wretch. — I wish you Joy
of yesterday. — The fellow
truckles already — C

the i

the inclosed strikes deeper than you
may imagine. — C

Friday 1 o'clock..

I wish it were possible for you to print the inclosed tomorrow. — Observe the Italics strictly where they are marked.

Why don't I hear from Guildhall. — If he trifles with me, he shall hear of it.

C

Sir.

I have rec.d y.r mysterious epistle.
I dare say a Letter may safely be
left at the same place; but
you may change the direction to
M.r John Trotly. You need not
advertise it

yours

C

to

M.r Woodfall

Printer in

Paternoster Row

No 2.

You may assure the public that a Squadron of four ships of the Line, ordered to be got ready with all possible expedition for the East Indies. It is to be commanded by Commodore Spry.

With regarding the language of ignorant or interested people, depend upon the Assurance I give You that every Man in Administration looks upon War as inevitable.

To

H. Woodfall

Printer in

Paternoster Row

the paper is extremely well printed & has a great effect. — it is of the utmost importance to the public Cause that the Doors of the Ho. of Lords sh.d be opened on Tuesday next. perhaps the following may help to shame them into it —

~~We Be hear that the Ministry intend to move for open=ing the Doors of both Houses of Parliamt on Tuesday next in the usual Manner, being desirous that the Nation sh.d be exactly ~~of~~ informed of their whole Conduct in the Business of Falkland Island.~~

Next Day.

~~The Nation expect that, on Tuesday next at least, both Houses will be open as usual; otherwise there will be too much reason to suspect, that their proceedings of the Ministry having been such as will not bear a public~~

Discussion.

We hear that the Ministry intend to move that no Gentleman may be refused Admittance into either House on Tuesday next. Lord North in particular thinks it touches his Character to have no part of his Conduct concealed from the Nation.

The Resolution of the Ministry to move for opening both Houses on Tuesday next does them great honour. If they were to do otherwise, it would raise & justify Suspicions, very disadvantageous to their own Reputation & to the King's honour.

Pray keep it up. C

No. 29

Mr. Woodfall.

Printer

Inn.

Paternoster Row.

Tuesday Noon.

No. 30

Sir.

I did not receive your Letter
until this day. I shall be
very glad to hear what you
have to communicate.

Yours

You need not advertise any Notice.

Nº 31

Private. Monday.
my correspondence is attended with difficulties. yet I shd be glad to see the
paper you mention. let it be left to Morrow, without further notice.
I am seriously of opinion that it will all end in smoke. C

Nº 32

Monday.

If You are not grown too ministerial in Your politics,
I shall hope to see the inclosed announced tomorrow,
& published on Wednesday —

Sir. it will be very difficult, if not impracticable, for me to get your Note. I presume it relates to V--x.* I leave it to you to alter or omit as you think proper; — or burn it; — — I think the argument about Gibraltar &c is too good to be lost. As to the Satyrical part, I must tell you, (& with positive Certainty) that our gracious —— is as callous as Stockfish to every thing but the Reproach of Cowardice. That alone is able to set the humours afloat. After a paper of that kind he won't eat Meat for a Week.

You may rely upon it, the Ministry are sick of prosecutions. Those against Junius cost the Treasury above six thousand pds & after all they got nothing but Disgrace. After the paper you have printed today, (signed Brutus) one wd think you feared Nothing. — For my own part, I can very truly assure you that nothing wd afflict me more than to have drawn you into a personal Danger, because it admits of no recompence. A little expence is not to be regarded, & I hope these papers have reimbursed you. I never will send you anything that I think dangerous, but the risque is yours & you must determine for yourself.

C

all the above is private

* This refers to the Letter in this Volume signed "Vindex." Junius No. 7.

Nº 34

friday Noon.

I hope You will approve of announcing the inclosed Junius to morrow, & publishing it on Monday. If, for any reasons that do not occur to me, You should think it unadviseable to print it, as it stands, I must intreat the favour of You to transmit it to Bingley, & satisfy him that it is a real Junius, worth a North Briton Extraordinary. It will be impossible for me to have an opportunity of altering any part of it.

I am, very truly Your friend

C

Nº 35

I am strangely partial to the inclosed. It is finished with the utmost Care. if I find myself mistaken in my Judgement of this paper, I positively will never write again.

C.

P.S. to the D. of G.

let it be announced tomorrow for Saturday.

I think Wilkes his cloak will. I hope he will keep his resolution of not to write any more.

Thursday.

To

Mr. Woodfall, Printer, in

Peternoster Row.

№ 36

to prevent any unfair use being
made of the inclosed, I intreat
you to keep a Copy of it.
then seal & deliver it to
Mr. Horne. — I presume you
know where he is to be found.

C

№ 37

52

pray make an Erratum for ultimate in the paragraph about the D. of G
it should be intimate. the rest is very Correct.

If Mr Horne answers this Letter handsomely six pounds,
he shall be my great Apollo.

Wednesday noon.

The inclosed is of such importance, is very material, that it must be given to the Public immediately.

I will not advise; - tho' I think You perfectly safe: - all I say is that I rely upon Your Care to have it printed either tomorrow in Yr. own paper, or tonight in the Packquet.

I have not been able to get Yr. from that place, but you shall hear from me soon

Your reasons are very just abt. printing the preface &c. it is your own affair: Do whatever you think proper. I am convinced the book will sell; & I suppose will make two volumes: the type might be one size larger than Wilkes but of all this you are the best Judge. I think you sh^d. give money to the Waiters at the Play-house, to make them more attentive. — The Notes sh^d. be in a smaller type.

pray find out, if you can: upon what day the Duke D. of Bedford, was flogged in the House at Litchfield by Mr Heaton Humphrey.

To

The Printer of the Public Advertiser.

14: March

friday. the above to that scotchman sh.d be printed conspicuously tomorrow.

At last I have concluded my great Work, & I assure You with no small labour. I wo.d have You begin to advertise immediately & publish before the meeting of parl.t Let all the my papers in defence of Jun.s be inserted. I shall now supply You very fast with Copy & Notes. The paper & type sh.d at least be as good as Whebles. You must correct the press Yourself, but I sh.d be glad to see corrected proofs of the 2 first Sheets.

Shew the Dedication & preface to Mr. Wilkes, and if he has any material Objection, let me know. I say material because of the difficulty of getting Your Letters. T

The Dedication must stand first.

† secret beware of David Garrick. he was sent to pump you, & went directly to Richmond to tell the king I sh.d write no more.

For Mr. W.

Facsimile of Private Letter of Junius. "Nov. 10, 1771." Junius to Woodfall, No. 41.

To Mr. David Garrick.

I am very exactly informed of your impertinent inquiries, & of the information you so basely sent to Richmond, & with what triumph & exultation it was received. I knew every particular of it the next day. — Now mark me, vagabond. — Rs. p. to your pantomimes, & be assured you shall hear of it. Meddle no more, thou busy informer! — It is in my power to make you curse the hour, in which you dared to interfere with Junius.

I wd. send the above to Garrick directly, but that I wd. avoid having his hand too commonly seen. Oblige me then so much as to have it copied in any hand, & sent by the penny post, that is, if you dislike sending it in your own writing. — I must be more cautious than ever. I am sure I ~~am~~ shd. not survive a discovery three days or if I did, they wd. attaint me by bill. Change to the Somerset Coffee house, & let no mortal know the alteration. I am persuaded you are too honest a man to contribute in any way to my destruction. ~~[illegible]~~ Act honorably by me, & at a proper time you shall know me.

I think the second page, with the widest lines, looks best — What is your essential reason? — for the change. I send you some more sheets. — I think the paper is not so good as Whiblet's — but I may be mistaken. — The type is good. The aspersions thrown upon my Lee to the Bills of Rs. shd. be refuted by publication. prevail upon Mr. Wilkes to let you have extracts of my 2d. & 3d. letter to him. It will make the book still more new. — I wd. see the before they are printed, but keep this last to yr. self.

To Mr. Woodfall.

Private & particular

Print the following as soon as You think proper, & at the head of y^r^ Paper.

I sent You three Sheets of Copy last night.
When You send to me, instead of the usual
Signal, say, Orders shall be considered.
& keep the Alteration a Secret to every body.

To Mr Woodfall
printer
in Paternoster Row

* David [illegible] Wilkes

If you can find the date of the D. of B's flogging, insert it in the Note. – I think it was soon after the Westm. Election. – The philos are not to be placed as notes except where I mention it particularly.

I have no doubt of what you say about D.G.* – so drop the Note. The truth is that in order to curry favor, he made himself a greater Rascal than he was. Depend upon what i tell you; – the King understood that he had found out the secret by his own cunning & activity. – As it is important to deter him from meddling, I desire you will tell him that I am aware of his practises, & will certainly be revenged, if he does not desist. An appeal to the public from Is. wo. destroy him.

Let me know whether Mr. W. will give you the Extracts.

I cannot proceed without answers to those 7 queries.

Think no more of Junius Americanus. – Let him reprint his Letters himself. he acts most dishonorably, in suffering Junius to be so traduced. but this falsehood will all revert upon Horne. In the mean time, I laugh at him.

With submission, i think it is not Yr. interest to declare that I have done.

As to Yr. self, I really think you are in no danger. You are not the Object, & punishing You (unless it answ. the purpose of stopping the press) wo. be no grati=fication to the King. If undesignedly I sh. send you any thing you may think dangerous, judge for yourself, or take any Opinion you think proper. You cannot offend or afflict me, but by hazarding Yr. own safety. They talk of farther informations, but they will always hold that language in terrorem.

Don't always use the same signal. – any absurd Latin verse will ans. the purpose. Let me know about what time you may want more Copy.

Upon reflection I think it is absolutely necessary to send that Note to D. G.*
— only say practises, instead of imperth. Ings. — I think You have no measures
to keep with a Man, who cd. betray a confidential letter, for so base a purpose
as pleasing the odious hypocrite.
tell me how long it maybe before You want more Copy. — I want rest
most severely, & am going to find it in the Country for a few days.
* Cambriensis has taken greatly.

2d Nov. 1770.

the postscript to Titus must be omitted. — I did never question your understanding. far otherwise. the Latin word simplex conveys to me an amiable Character, & never denotes folly. Tho' we may not be deficient in point of Capacity, it is very possible that neither of us may be cunning enough for Mr. Garrick. But with a sound heart, be assured You are better gifted, even for wordly happiness, than if you had been cursed with the abilities of a Mansfield. After long Experience of the world, I affirm, before God I never knew a rogue, who was not unhappy.

Your account of my letter to the Bill of rights astonishes me. I always thought the misrepresentation had been the Work of Mr. Horne. I will not trust myself with suspecting. the remedy is in my own hands, but, for Mr. Wilkes's honour, I wish it to come freely & honorably from himself. publish nothing of mine, untill I have seen it. — in the mean time, be assured that nothing can be more express that my declaration against long parliaments. — try Mr. Wilkes once more. — speak forme in a most friendly but firm tone. — that I will not submit to be any longer aspersed. — Between ourselves, let me recommend it to You to be much upon your guard with patriots. — I fear your friend Jerry Dyson will lose his irish pension

say Received.

in page. 25. it sh^d be the instead of Your. this is a woeful Mistake; — pray take Care for the future — keep a page for Errata

[illegible]

D. G. has literally forced me to break my resolution of writing no more.

These papers are all in their exact Order. take great care to keep them so. In a few days more I shall have sent You all the Copy. You must then take care of it yourself, except that I must see proof sheets of the Ded^n. & pref & these, if at all, I must see before the End of next Week.-
You shall have the Extract to go into the second Volume. it will be a short one. — Scævola, I see, is determined to make me an Enemy to Lord Camden. If it be not wilful Malice, I beg You will signify to him that when I originally mentioned L. C^s. Declaration abt. the Corn bill it was without any view of discussing that Doctrine, & only as an instance of a singular Opinion maintained by a Man of great Learning & integrity. — Such an instance was necessary to the plan of my letter. — I think he has in effect injured the Man whom he meant to defend.

When You send the abovemen^d. proof sheets, return my own copy with them.

The inclosed compleats all the materials that I can give you. I have done my part. take Care you do Yours. There are still two Letters wanting, which I expect You will not fail to insert in their places. One is from Ph.o I.s to Scaevola about L.d Camden, the other to a friend of the people about pressing. They must be in the Course of October. — I have no view but to serve You, & consequently have only to desire that the Ded. & Pref. may be correct. Look to it. If You take it upon Y.r Self, I will not forgive Your ~~[illegible]~~ suffering it to be spoiled. I weigh every word; & every Alteration, in my Eyes at least, is a blemish.

I sho.d not trouble you or myself, about that Blockhead Scaevola, but that his absurd fiction of my being L.d C.s Enemy has done harm. — Every fool can do Mischief. — therefore signify to him what I said.

Garrick has certainly betrayd himself, probably to the King, who makes it a Rule to betray every body that confides in him. That new Disgrace of mansfield is true. — What do You mean by affirming that the Dowager is better: I tell you she suckles toads from Morning till Night. I think I have now done my duty by you, so farewell.

Make your mind easy about me. I believe You are an honest man, and I never am angry — say tomorrow. "We are desired to "inform Sir Wm that his private Note was received "with the most profound indifference & Contempt." I see his design. The duke of Grafton has been long labouring to detach Camden. This Scoundrel is the veriest dastard of all fools; & dirty knave. —

Upon no Account nor for any reason whatsoever are You to write to me; until I give You notice.

When the Book is finished let me have a set bound in Vellum, gilt & lettered Juniusses, as handsomely as You can, the edges gilt. let the sheets be well dried before binding. — I must also have two sets in blue paper Covers. This is all the favour I shall ever desire of you. — I think You ought not to publish before the second Week in January

The 1st packet is not worth our Notice. I suspect Garrick, & I wod. have You treat it so. Keep

6. January. 72.

I have a thing to mention to you in great Confidence. I expect your assistance, & rely upon your Secrecy.

There is a long paper ready for publication, but which must not appear until the morning of the meeting of Parliament, nor be announced in any shape whatsoever. Much depends upon its appearing unexpectedly. If you receive it on the 8th or 9th instant, can you in a day or two have it composed, & two proof sheets struck off & sent me, & can you keep the press standing ready for the public Adv.n of the 21st.

And can all this be done with such secrecy that none of Yr. people shall know what is going forward except the Composer, & can you rely on his fidelity? Consider of it & if it be possible, say Yes in your paper to morrow.

I think it will take four full Columns at the least, but I undertake that it shall sell. — It is essential that I sh.d [illegible] a proof sheet, & correct it myself.

Let me know if the are ready, that I may tell you what to do with them.

To

Mr. Woodfall.

Printer,

in

6. Jan.ry Paternoster row

Saturday.

Your failing to send me the proofs, as you engaged to do, disappoints & distresses me extreamly. It is not merely to correct the press, (tho' even that is of consequence) but for another most material purpose. This will be entirely defeated, if you do not let me have the two proofs on Monday morning.

The paper itself is, in my opinion, of the highest stile of J.s & cannot fail to sell. — my reason for not announcing it was that the party might have no time to concert his measures with the Ministry: but, upon reflection, I think it may answer better (in order to excite attention) to advertise it the day before. J.s to L.C.D.M. tomorrow.

Quoting from memory, I have made a mistake about Blackstone, where I say that he confines the power to the Court, & does not extend it to the Judges separately. those lines must be omitted. — The rest is right. — If you have any regard for me, or for the cause, let nothing hinder your sending the proofs on Monday.

To Mr H. Woodfall

Printer

Paternoster Row.

I return you the proofs, with the errata; which you will be so good as to correct carefully.

I have the greatest reason to be pleased with your care & attention; & wish it were in my power to render you more substantial service.—

Adieu till Monday.

Mr. Woodfall, Printer, &c.

Paternoster Row

Private Saturday

The gentleman, who transacts the Conveyancing part of our Correspondence* tells me there was much difficulty last night. for this reason, & because it cd. be no way material for me to see a paper on Saturday, which is to appear on Monday, I had resolved not to send for it. — Your hint of this Morning, I suppose, relates to this. — I am truly concerned to see, that the publication of the book is so long delayed. — I thought to have appeared before the meeting of Pt. — By no means wd. I have you insert this long letter, if it made more than the difference of two days in the publication.

Believe me, the delay is a real Injury to the Cause.

— the Letter to M. may come into a new Edition.

— W. W. seems not to know that Morris published that Letter. I think you should set him right.

To Mr Woodfall.

Printer in

Paternoster Row.

having nothing better to do; I propose to entertain myself & the public, with torturing that bloody Wretch Barrington. He has just appointed a french Broker his deputy, for no reason but his relation to Bradshaw. I hear from all quarters, that it is looked upon as a most impudent insult to the army. — Be careful not to have it known to come from me. Such an insignificant Creature is not worth the generous rage of Ys.

I am impatient for the Book.

Monday.

I confess I cannot see the use of the Table of Contents. I think it will be endless, & answer no purpose; — An index of Proper Names, & Materials wo.d in my opinion be sufficient. You may safely defy the Malice of Mr. Wilkes. Whoever buys the book will naturally prefer the Author's Edition, & I think it will always be a book for Sale. I really am in no hurry about that Letter. — *Falling, I fear, is to come in for Castlow. — a sure proof of the Connection between him & Government.

I wo.d have you open any thing that may be brought to you for me, (except from Mr. W.) — & not forward it, unless it be material. — The large Bills contained a pamphlet

To

Mr. Woodfall, Printer

by

Peterborough.

Monday. If you have any thing to communicate, you may send it to the original place for once, L. E. G. — & mention any new place you think proper, west of Temple Bar. The delay of the book spoils every thing.

To Mr. H. S. Woodfall
printer &c
Paternoster Row.

Monday night

Surely you have misjudged very much about the Book. — I could not have conceived it possible that you could protract the publication so long. — At this time, particularly before Mr Cambridge's Motion, it would have been of singular use. You have trifled too long with the public Expectation. — At a certain point of time the appetite palls. — I fear you have already lost the occasion. — The Book, I am sure will lose the greatest part of the Effect I expected from it. — But I have done.

To Mr Woodfall

Printer &c &c

Piccadilly

I do you the justice to believe that the Delay has been unavoidable. The Expedient you propose, of printing the Ded. & pref. in the I. A. is unadvisable. The Attention of the public wo^d. then be quite lost to the book itself. I think your Rivals will be disappointed. Nobody will apply to them, when they can ~~have~~ be supplied at the Fountain head. I hope you are too forward, ~~to~~ have any room for that Letter of Dom^n. – otherwise it is merely indifferent.

The Latin I thought much superior to the English. – The intended Bill, in consequence of the Message, will be a most dangerous innovation in the internal Policy of this Country*. – What an abandoned, prostituted Idiot is your Lord Mayor! – The Shameful Mism~~anagem~~ent, which brought him into Office, gave me the 'rst, & an unconquerable Disgust. – All I can now say, is, makes haste with the Book. – C

The appointm^t. of this Broker, I am told, gives universal disgust. That bloody Wretch* wo^d. never have taken a step, apparently so absurd, if there were some wicked design in it, more than we are aware of. At any rate, the Broker sh^d. be run down. That at least is due to his Master

Saturday. 29. Feb. I am very glad to see that the Book will be out before Sawbridge's Motion. — there is no occasion for a Mark of Admiration at the end of the Motto. but it is of no moment whatsoever. When you see Mr. W.* pray return him my thanks for the Trouble he has taken. I wish he had taken more. — I shd. be glad to have a set, sewed, left at the same place to morrow evening let it be well sealed up. C

To Mr. Woodfall

Printer

Paternoster Row.

Tuesday. - Your letter was twice returned last night, & the waiter as often attempted to see the person who sent for it. - I was impatient to see the book, & think I had a right to that Attention, a little before the general publication. When I desired to have two sets sewed, & one bound in Vellum, it was not from a principle of Economy I despise such little savings, & shall still be a purchaser. - If I were to buy as many sets as I want, it would be remarked. pray let the two sets be well parcelled up & left at the bar of Mundays Coffeehouse, Maiden lane, with the same Direction, & with orders to be Delivered to a Chairman who will ask for them in the Course of tomorrow Evening. farewell.

To Mr Woodfall, printer

By

Peterborough Row.

Thursday. — Your letters with the books are come safe to hand. The difficulty of corresponding arises from situation & necessity to which we must submit. Be assured I will not give you more trouble than is unavoidable. — If the vellum books are not yet bound, I wo^d wait for the Index. If they are, let me know by a line in the P.A. — When they are ready, they may safely be left at the same place as last night.

On your account I was alarmed at the price of the book. — but of the sale of books I am no judge, & can only pray for your success. — What you say about the profits^x is very handsome. I like to deal with such men. As for myself, be assured that I am far above all pecuniary views. Your other person I think has any claim to share with you. Make the most of it therefore, & let all your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate independence. Without it, no man can be happy, nor even honest. —

If I saw any prospect of uniting the City once more, I wo^d readily continue to labour in the vineyards. Whenever M^r. W^x can tell me that such a union is in prospect, he shall hear of me.

Quick

Quod si quis existimet me aut voluntate esse mutatâ, aut debilitatâ virtute, aut animo fracto, vehementer errat.

Farewell.

in the preface p. 20. line 7 read unsrasonable
p. 26. 18. accuracy

BRITISH MUSEUM

To

Mr. Woodfall. Printer

in

Paternoster Row

if pars probate be meant for me, I must beg the favour of You to recall it. At present it wo^d be difficult for me to receive it. — When the books are ready a Latin verse will be sufficient.

To

Mr. Woodfall, printer

in Paternoster Row.

I am in no manner (Sunday) of hurry about the books. I hope the sale has answered. — I think it will always be a saleable book. The inclosed is fact, & I wish it cd. be printed to Morrow. It is not worth announcing. The proceedings of this wretch are unaccountable. There must be some Mystery in it, which I hope will soon be discovered to his Confusion. — Next to the D. of Gn. I verily believe that the blackest hearting the kingdom belongs to Lord Bn.

To

Mr. Woodfall,

Printer in

Paternoster Row.

pray let this be announced;
Memoirs of Lord Barrington in
our next.
keep the auth or a secret.

To Mr. Woodfall printer in
Paternoster Row.

19. Jan. I have seen the signals thrown out for y^r old friend & Correspondent. be assured that I have had good reason for not complying with them in the present state of things. If I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned Cattle, that run and thro' the City, or as any of your wise Aldermen. I mean the Cause & the public. both are given up. I feel for the honour of this Country, when I see that there are not ten men in it, who will unite & stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike, vile & contemptible.

You have never flinched that I know of; & I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity.
If You have any thing to communicate, (of moment to yourself) you may use the last address & give a hint.

To

Mr. Woodfall. printer

" Paternoster row.

To Mr Woodfall.

I am very exactly informed of your impertinent inquiries & of the information you so busily sent to Richmond. & with what triumph & exultation it was received. I know every particular of it the next day. — Now mark me, vagabond. — keep to your pantomimes, or be assured you shall hear of it. Meddle no more, thou busy informer! — It is in my power to make you curse the hour, in which you dared to interfere with Junius.

Photolithograph from the Original Letter has been given in its Place, No. 41; but as some words of the Original have been damaged, the above Photolithograph, taken from the Engraved Facsimile made 30 years ago, for Woodfalls Junius is now likewise published

Prinpall the Names & Works at Length.
you must correct Draper & Horne Yourself.

LETTERS.

LETTER I.

ADDRESSED TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

21. January 1769

SIR,

The submission of a free people to the executive authority of government is no more than a compliance with laws, which they themselves have enacted. While the national honour is firmly maintained abroad, and while justice is impartially administered at home, the obedience of the subject will be voluntary, chearful, and I might almost say unlimited. A generous nation is grateful even for the preservation of its rights, and willingly extends the respect due to the office of a good prince into an affection for his person. Loyalty, in the heart and understanding of an Englishman, is a rational attachment to the guardian of the laws. Prejudices and passion have sometimes carried it to a criminal length; and, whatever foreigners may imagine, we know that Englishmen have erred as much in a mistaken zeal for particular persons and families, as they ever did in defence of what they thought most dear and interesting to themselves.

B It

Think it wd. very proper to print the proclamation in a note to this letter

[44]

LETTER VIII.

TO THE Date OF G[redacted] 18. March 1769

MY LORD,

Before you were placed at the head of affairs, it had been a maxim of the English government, not unwillingly admitted by the people, that every ungracious or severe exertion of the prerogative should be placed to the account of the Minister; but that, whenever an act of grace or benevolence was to be performed, the whole merit of it should be attributed to the Sovereign himself.* It was a wise doctrine, my Lord, and equally advantageous to the King and to his subjects; for while it preserved that suspicious attention, with which the people ought always to examine the conduct of ministers, it tended at the same time rather to increase than diminish their attachment to the person of their Sovereign. If there be not a fatality attending every measure you are concerned in, by what treachery, or by what excess of folly has it happened, that those ungracious acts, which have distinguished your administration, and which I doubt not were entirely your own, should carry with them a strong appearance of personal interest, and even of personal enmity in

*Les rois ne se sont reservé que les graces. Ils renvoient les condamnations vers leur officiers. Montesquieu

LETTER IX.

TO HIS GRACE THE D— OF C——. 10. April 1769.

MY LORD,

I Have ſo good an opinion of your Grace's diſcernment, that when the author of the vindication of your conduct aſſures us, that he writes from his own mere motion, without the leaſt authority from your Grace, I ſhould be ready enough to believe him, but for one fatal mark, which ſeems to be fixed upon every meaſure, in which either your perſonal or your political character is concerned.— Your firſt attempt to ſupport Sir William Proctor ended in the election of Mr. Wilkes; the ſecond enſured ſucceſs to Mr. Glynn. The extraordinary ſtep you took to make Sir James Lowther Lord Paramount of Cumberland, has ruined his intereſt in that county for ever. The Houſe Liſt of Directors was curſed with the concurrence of government; and even the miſerable D——y could not eſcape the misfortune of your Grace's protection. With this uniform experience before us, we are authoriſed to ſuſpect, that when a pretended vindication of your principles and conduct in reality contains the bittereſt reflections upon both, it could not have been writ-

of declamation will be ſilent; and even the venal muſe, though happieſt in fiction, will forget your virtues. Yet, for the benefit of the ſucceeding age, I could wiſh that your retreat might be deferred until your morals ſhall happily be ripened to that maturity of corruption, at which philoſophers tell us, the worſt examples ceaſe to be contagious. JUNIUS.

LETTER XV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

A Great deal of uſeleſs argument might have been ſaved, in the political conteſt, which has ariſen from the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes, and the ſubſequent appointment of Mr. Luttrell, if the queſtion had been once ſtated with preciſion, to the ſatisfaction of each party, and clearly underſtood by them both. But in this, as in almoſt every other diſpute, it uſually happens that much time is loſt in referring to a multitude of caſes and precedents, which prove nothing to the purpoſe, or in maintaining propoſitions, which are either not diſputed, or, whether they be admitted or denied, are entirely indifferent as to the matter in debate;

LETTER XVI.

TO DR. WILLIAM BLACKSTONE, SOLICITOR GENERAL TO HER MAJESTY.

SIR, 29 July 1769

I ſhall make you no apology for conſidering a certain pamphlet, in which your late conduct is defended, as written by yourſelf. The perſonal intereſt, the perſonal reſentments, and above all, that wounded ſpirit, unaccuſtomed to reproach, and I hope not frequently conſcious of deſerving it, are ſignals which betray the author to us as plainly as if your name were in the title-page. You appeal to the public in defence of your reputation. We hold it, Sir, that an injury offered to an individual is intereſting to ſociety. On this principle the people of England made common cauſe with Mr. Wilkes. On this principle, if *you* are injured, they will join in your reſentment. I ſhall not follow you through the inſipid form of a third perſon, but addreſs myſelf to you directly.

You ſeem to think the channel of a pamphlet more reſpectable and better ſuited to the dignity of your cauſe, than that of a news-paper. Be it

it ſo. Yet if news-papers are ſcurrilous, you muſt confeſs they are impartial. They give us, without any apparent preference, the wit and argument of the miniſtry, as well as the abuſive dulneſs of the oppoſition. The ſcales are equally poiſed. It is not the printer's fault if the greater weight inclines the balance.

Your pamphlet then is divided into an attack upon Mr. Grenville's character, and a defence of your own. It would have been more conſiſtent perhaps with your profeſſed intentions, to have confined ~~you~~ yourself to the laſt. But anger has ſome claim to indulgence, and railing is uſually a relief to the mind. I hope you have found benefit from the experiment. It is not my deſign to enter into a formal vindication of Mr. Grenville upon his own principles. I have neither the honour of being perſonally known to him, nor do I pretend to be completely maſter of all the facts. I need not run the riſque of doing an injuſtice to his opinions, or to his conduct, when your pamphlet alone carries, upon the face of it, a full vindication of both.

Your firſt reflection is, that Mr. Grenville was, of all men, the perſon who ſhould not have complained of inconſiſtence with regard to Mr. Wilkes. This, Sir, is either an unmeaning ſneer, a peeviſh expreſſion

Mr Grenville had quoted a passage from the Doctor's excellent Commentaries, which directly contradicted the doctrine maintained by the Doctor in the House of Commons

The deareſt intereſts of this country are its laws and its conſtitution. Againſt every attack upon theſe, there will, I hope, be always found amongſt us the firmeſt *ſpirit of reſiſtance*; ſuperior to the united efforts of faction and ambition. For ambition, though it does not always take the lead of faction, will be ſure in the end to make the moſt fatal advantage of it, and draw it to its own purpoſes. But, I truſt, our day of trial is yet far off; and there is *a fund of good ſenſe in this country, which cannot long be deceived*, by the arts either of falſe reaſoning or falſe patriotiſm.

LETTER XVII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

8. August 1769.

SIR,

The gentleman, who has publiſhed an anſwer to Sir William Meredith's pamphlet, having honoured me with a poſtſcript of ſix quarto pages, which he moderately calls, beſtowing *a very* few words upon me, I cannot, in common politeneſs, refuſe him a reply. The form and magnitude of a quarto impoſes upon the mind; and men, who are unequal to the labour of diſcuſſing an intricate argument, or wiſh to avoid it, are willing enough to ſuppoſe, that much has been proved, becauſe much

LETTER XIX.

Duke of Bedford.

TO HIS GRACE THE D— OF [illegible].

18 Sept. 1769.

MY LORD,

You are ſo little accuſtomed to receive any marks of reſpect or eſteem from the public, that if, in the following lines, a compliment or expreſſion of applauſe ſhould eſcape me, I fear you would conſider it as a mockery of your eſtabliſhed character, and perhaps an inſult to your underſtanding. You have nice feelings, my Lord, if we may judge from your reſentments. Cautious therefore of giving offence, where you have ſo little deſerved it, I ſhall leave the illuſtration of your virtues to other hands. Your friends have a privilege to play upon the eaſineſs of your temper, or poſſibly they are better acquainted with your good qualities than I am. You have done good by ſtealth. The reſt is upon record. You have ſtill left ample room for ſpeculation, when panegyric is exhauſted.

You are indeed a very conſiderable man. The higheſt rank;—a ſplendid fortune; and a name, glorious till it was yours, were ſufficient to have ſupported you with meaner abilities than I think you poſſeſs. From the firſt, you derived a conſtitutional

*have pouted, quarrelled, cried, kiſſed, and been friends again, as the objects of deſire, the miniſterial rattles, have been put into their hands. But ſuch proceedings are very unworthy of the gravity and dignity of a great nation. We do not want men of abilities; but we have wanted ſteadineſs; we want unanimity: your letters, *Junius*, will not contribute thereto. You may one day expire by a flame of your own kindling. But it is my humble opinion that lenity and moderation, pardon and oblivion, will diſappoint the efforts of all the ſeditious in the land, and extinguiſh their wide ſpreading fires. I have lived with this ſentiment; with this I ſhall die.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

LETTER XXII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

13. Oct. 1769

SIR,

If Sir William Draper's bed be a bed of torture, he has made it for himſelf. I ſhall never interrupt his repoſe. Having changed the ſubject, there are parts of his laſt letter not undeſerving of a reply. Leaving his private character and conduct out of the queſtion, I ſhall conſider him merely

* Sir William gives us a pleasant account of Men, who, in his Opinion at least, are the best qualified to govern an Empire.

122 LETTERS.

taken in your opinion of your gracious Master's firmness, disappointment got the better of all your humble discretion, and carried you to an excess of outrage to his person, as distant from true spirit, as from all decency and respect.* After robbing him of the rights of a King, you would not permit him to preserve the honour of a Gentleman. It was then Lord Weymouth was nominated to Ireland, and dispatched (we well remember with what indecent hurry) to plunder the treasury of the first fruits of an employment which you well knew he was never to execute.*

This sudden declaration of war against the Favourite might have given you a momentary merit with the public, if it had either been adopted upon principle, or maintained with resolution. Without looking back to all your former servility, we need only observe your subsequent conduct, to see upon what motives you acted. Apparently united with Mr. Grenville, you waited until Lord Rockingham's feeble administration should dissolve in its own weakness.—The moment their dismission was suspected, the moment you perceived that another system was adopted in the closet, you thought it no disgrace to return to your former dependance, and solicit once more the friendship of Lord Bute. You begged an interview, at which he had spirit enough to treat you with contempt.

It

* he received three thousand pounds for plate & equipage money.

Oct 10.12

demanded an audience of the —, reproached him in plain terms, with his duplicity, baseness, falsehood, treachery, & hypocrisy, — repeatedly gave him the lye & left him in convulsions.

* The Ministry having endeavoured to exclude the Dowager out of the Regency bill, the Earl of Bute determined to dismiss them. upon this ~~[illegible]~~ the D of Bedford

page. 43. Note / It has been said, & I believe truly, that it was signified to Sir William Draper, at the request of Lord Granby, that he shd. desist from writing in his Lordship's defence. Sir William Draper certainly drew Junius forward to say more of Lord Granby's Character, than he originaley intended. He was reduced to the Dilemma of either being totaley silenced, or of supporting his first Letter. Whether Sir William had a right to reduce him to this dilemma, or to call upon him for his name, after a voluntary Attack on his side, are questions submitted to the candor of the public. — The Death of Lord Granby ~~was the occasion~~ was lamented by Junius. He undoubtedly owed some compensations to the Public, & seemed determined to acquit himself of them. In private life, he was unquestionabley that good Man, who, for the interest of his Country, ought to have been a great one. Bonum virum facile dixeris; — magnum libenter. I speak of him now without partiality; — I never spoke of him with resentment. His Mistakes, in public Conduct, did not arise either from want of Sentiment, or want of Judgement, but ~~entirely~~ in general from the difficulty of saying no to the bad People, who surrounded him.

As for the rest, the friends of Lord Granby shd. remember, that he himself thought proper to condemn, retract & disavow, by a most solemn declaration in the House of Commons, that very system of political Conduct, which Junius had held forth to the Disapprobation of the public.

employment of a future hour. But the buſineſs of the preſent moment will not ſuffer me to look back to a ſeries of events, which ceaſe to be intereſting or important, becauſe they are ſucceeded by a meaſure ſo ſingularly daring, that it excites all our attention, and engroſſes all our reſentment.

Your patronage of Mr. Luttrell has been crowned with ſucceſs. With this precedent before you, with the principles on which it was eſtabliſhed, and with a future houſe of commons, perhaps leſs virtuous than the preſent, every county in England, under the auſpices of the treaſury, may be repreſented as completely as the county of Middleſex. Poſterity will be indebted to your Grace for not contenting yourſelf with a temporary expedient, but entailing upon them the immediate bleſſings of your adminiſtration. Boroughs were already too much at the mercy of government. Counties could neither be purchaſed nor intimidated. But their ſolemn determined election may be rejected, and the man they deteſt may be appointed, by another choice, to repreſent them in parliament. Yet it is admitted, that the ſheriffs obeyed the laws and performed their duty.* The return they made muſt have been legal and valid, or undoubtedly they would have been cenſured for making it. With every good natured allowance for your Grace's youth and inexperience, there are ſome things

* Sir Fletcher Norton declared in the house of Commons that the Sheriffs, in returning Mr. Wilkes, had done no more than their duty.

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member*. But after trampling upon the laws of the land, it was not wonderful that they should treat the private regulations of their own assembly with equal disregard. The speaker, being young in office, began with pretended ignorance, and ended with deciding for the ministry. We were not surprized at the decision; but he hesitated and blushed at his own baseness, and every man was astonished. *

The interest of the public was vigorously supported in the house of lords. Their right to defend the constitution against any incroachment of the other estates, and the necessity of exerting it at this period, was urged to them with every argument that could be supposed to influence the heart or the understanding. But it soon appeared, that they had already taken their part, and were determined to support the house of commons, not only at the expence of truth and decency, but even by a surrender of their own most important rights. Instead of performing that duty which the constitution expected from them, in return for the dignity and independence of their station, in return for the hereditary share it has given them

* This extravagant resolution appears in the Votes of the House; but, in the minutes of the committees, the instances of resolutions contrary to law and truth, or of refusals to acknowledge law and truth when proposed to them, are innumerable.

in

the House of Commons, that he sh^d regard one of their Votes, no more than a resolution of so many drunken porters. This is the &c.

* When the King first made it a Measure of his Government to destroy M. Wilkes, & when for this purpose it was necessary to run down privilege Sir Fletcher Norton, with his usual prostituted Hoonbery, assured

of, and that the concluſion of the buſineſs, whenever it happened, muſt, in ſome degree, be diſhonourable to England. There appears thro' the whole ſpeech a guard and reſerve in the choice of expreſſion, which ſhews how careful the miniſtry were not to embarraſs their future projects by any firm or ſpirited declaration from the throne. When all hopes of peace are loſt, his Majeſty tells his parliament, that he is preparing,—not for barbarous war, but (with all his mother's ſoftneſs,) *for a different Situation.*† ~~It would indeed be happy for this country, if the lady I ſpeak of were obliged to prepare herſelf for a different ſituation.~~ —An open hoſtility, authoriſed by the Catholic King, is called *an act of a governor*. This act, to avoid the mention of a regular ſiege and ſurrender, paſſes under the piratical deſcription of *ſeizing by force*; and the thing taken is deſcribed, not as a part of the King's territory or proper dominion, but merely as a *poſſeſſion*, a word expreſsly choſen in contradiction to, and excluſion of the idea of *right*, and to prepare us for a future ſurrender both of the right and of the poſſeſſion. Yet this ſpeech, Sir, cautious and equivocal as it is, cannot, by any ſophiſtry, be accommodated to the meaſures, which have ſince been adopted. It ſeemed to promiſe,

† Note. The Lady herself is now preparing for a different Situation. Nothing keeps her alive, but the horrible Faction of Fools: — Such an instance of divine Justice would convert an Atheist.

* This Note was suppressed in the publication of the Letters.

London. 4th August 1767.

My dear Mac.

When I saw you last, you said you intended to leave a Letter and Money for me that Evening at the Coffee house with directions how to dispose of it. Your neglecting to do so gave me some uneasiness; for Scally began to suspect that there had been some foul play. However your Letter from Lymington and the other, which you wrote from the briny ocean, have entirely settled that matter; and I should not have mentioned it now, but in order to introduce a piece of advice, which I have heretofore taken the liberty to give, and you have taken the Liberty of neglecting. It is that you would give your Mind to a greater degree of punctuality in America than You ever seemed to think necessary in Europe. Your twenty pounds shall be applied in the manner you desire. — I am now to inform You that nothing

nothing material has happened here since You left us; atleast nothing that an Inhabitant of Philadelphia need care one farthing about. Your Sister & Neices are in a perfect State of health tho' seldom of Tranquillity. Betsy's evil humours is put plentifully out of her Left Arm, and the little Fury's Eye is I think quite well. If your Sister writes to you by this paquet, it will be of a few days later date, than mine. If you must thank me for the Injunctions I have laid upon her; for otherwise, between the delightfull occupation of scolding her maids & mending her Children's Stockings, I doubt she would hardly have found time to think of her Relations. You are to know that I am this day to set off for Lisle, where I am to meet Gravier, & so make the Tour of Holland & Flanders. The Postchaise is waiting at the door, & truly if I were to drop my pen this instant & jump into it, You would have little reason to complain; but I write of

if it be possible calm the ferment of my Spirits, & write on for one quater of an hour more.
Meyrick was to have been my Company, but he writes me word that he is confined to Newington by the Advice of his Physicians (his Surgeon I suppose he means in the singular number) for the Benefit of the Air.
I really have Nothing more to say I wish You would excuse my proceeding any further. The Thursday after You went, I dined at Mr. Chs. They seemed to think it improbable You should leave London, without bidding them adieu in a more Solemn manner; but I fancy they were not much displeased that the Ceremony was really over. — I have equipped myself with a Coutteau de Chasse, which I believe without vanity will not meet with its equal in any one of the seven provinces, tho' they were to unite their whole strength in one body to produce it. This Rapier, which some call a Cutlass, in their words a Ferrara, or to speak more properly, or to express myself more

more correctly this Toaster, this Faulchion, for it hardly deserves the name of Scymitar, is now dangling by my side & attracts more than nine tenths of my visual Rays from the paper which I am writing on. Prince Arthur's Sword was called Trifingo, that of Orlando was christened Durindana. — I shall abide by Prince Arthur. — Mr. & Mrs. Chr set out for Brighthelmstone before I received either of yours; but as to a Letter to Sir Henry Moore, I fancy it would be of little Consequence. You shall have one to Major General Gage from Sir Jeffery Amherst, which will be of more use & Credit to you, than any other.

Adieu my dear Boy. Make your fortune, if You can, & as soon as You can. It will be of use to You in the Eyes of the World; tho' neither Fortune n any thing else can give you a warmer Corner than You have in the Affections of Yours P. Francis.

War Office 12th Sept: 1767.

Dear Mac.

I take for granted that You are by this time convinced that any land is preferable to the calmest & pleasantest part of the Ocean. If you ever cross the Atlantick more than once again, You deserve to be the pasture of Fishes. I too have had my Troubles by land & by sea since I wrote my last; but if ever I venture upon more salt water than lies between Dover & Calais, may the rest of my life be destined to catch Coral in a diving Bell. — I have been all over Flanders in Company with honest Grazier. You shall have the Particulars when we meet. — I long prodigiously to hear how you play the Devil in Philadelphia.

Mr. D'Oyly tells me that Sir Jeffery transmitted Letters was

was forwarded to You by the last packquet. He says it was extreamly civil, but if You dont like it, You need not deliver it. I conceive that Governour Hamilton's Acquaintance & your other Recommendations You will spend your time rather better in that Country than you did here; but You must not forget us. The inclosed Letter from your Sister will give you a detail of Family Affairs; As to myself, there is really nothing new about me except a fine Suit of Imbroidery which I purchased at Bonfoils: — I have entirely sold out of India, with a clear gain of £213 .. 16 .. besides a half year's Dividend of £50. — pretty well for three Months, my Master! — If it should come done again, which I think probable enough, I propose to venture once more.

Chitty is turned Broker, & I dare say will succeed
I have not seen one of your old acquaintance
since my return; — for I go up to Hampstead
Every Night. — the Death of Charles Townshend
is the only late Event of any Importance.

I really have nothing more to say, so
adieu. Yours veritablement.

P. Francis.

War Office. 5th Dec.r 1767.

Dear Brother.

As long as it remained uncertain whether you were floating upon the Surface, or lying flat on your back at the Bottom of the Sea, I thought it in vain to continue writing to You. But now that I understand, by Your first Letter from Philadelphia, that you are a Man in esse as well as posse, You shall find me as regular in my Correspondence, as the monthly Review, and perhaps as full of Matter. The Letter you mention to have written from the Madeiras never came to hand. I should think your landing there must have been a very agreeable Circumstance, both as a relief from the Sea and a prospect of new faces. You ought to have told me in what manner You were received by my unknown Cousins, of whom I understand there is a plentifull Crop at the place where you find yourself. And will be You, & do You spend Your time agreeably. Tench Francis tells me that the principal House, with which You had Business to transact has stopt payment, and that

that probably your Return will be sooner than You expected
Yet I could wish and I dare say you would find it in every
respect more eligible to stay abroad for a few years, if any
thing material or usefull plan were to offer. Every thing
here is almost in the same State, in which You left it. I take
for granted that Your Letters from Fulham will give You a
copious Account of every thing that relates to the Family
there. I have not given them any hint of your having
left twenty pounds in my hands; nor do I intend it
unless it may be absolutely necessary. For myself I think
I have done as much as could be Expected from me, in
allowing them twenty pounds a year; at least I am sure
it is as much as I could afford: Mr Chandler promises
the same Annuity: yet I dont see how it will be possible
for them to subsist upon less than a hundred pounds a
year even after their House rent is paid: and I do not see
much chance of their getting such an Annuity.

I have sent You a Court Calendar for 1768: it is committed
to the Care of Mr Dodd, who has promised to put it on board
some

N.B. Two Pages have been here cut out of the Letter Book.

General Gage's Secretary & Factotum, and will I dare say be very ready to introduce You in the best Manner to Mr Gage, when your Affairs shall call you to New York. I did not see Sir Jeffery Amherst's Letter to Gage, but I take for granted it was a handsome one. — I shall leave all Chitchat to Your Sister, who is inditing a long Letter of that sort to you.

We are in hourly Expectation of some farther Alteration in the Ministry, by introducing some of the opposing Party into Place. — We are just informed of a very Extraordinary Combination entered into at Boston by all the principal Inhabitants, not to use any one Article of English Growth or Manufacture. Such are the fruits of Our Indulgence. — But as to You Sir, I insist upon it that You neither make yourself a Party man nor a Politician.

My father has had the Misfortune of a Stroke of

the Palsy, which seized him all over about a Fortnight ago at Bath. he is now pretty well recovered. I am going to Bath in the course of next week to spend the Christmas Holidays.

Mrs Chandler I suppose is now at the Summit of her wishes for Mr Chandler has bought a House in Bonton Street Berkeley Square. When he has made the Alterations intended in it, it will really be fit for a Nobleman.

Governour Hamilton I suppose is hot as Ginger & Pepper. Since a Woman of forty or fifty can set him on fire.

Now My dear fellow, I think I have Nothing more to add but my warmest wishes for Your happiness & Success.

Adieu, adieu.

P. Francis:

Henceforward You may depend upon my writing to You by every Packquet: & I wish You would take every Opportunity of letting us know how you go on.

The freshest political Intelligence is — that the Earl of Northington, Shelburne, Genl Conway & Colonel Barré are to go out. — Earl Gower to be President of the Council — Earl of Sandwich & Viscount Weymouth to be Secretaries of State, — Mr Rigby Secretary at War, & Lord Harrington Vice Chancellor of Ireland — Room to be made as occasion offers for the Duke of Bedford's Friends.

Do not quote me for this

Aire. 6th. August. 1767.

My dearest Betsy..

This place is Midway between Calais & Lisle. We arrived here this Evening safe & sound, between eight & nine. I write from hence a few lines, because if I were to defer it till my Arrival at Lisle, it would make a Difference of several Days. All I can tell You at present is that our Journey & Voyage has hitherto been favourable. inform Mrs Langdale that I saw her Son this Evening & delivered my Commission he is well & in good Spirits.

My good Girl, do You take Care to keep up Yours. I am most Excessively tired & must conclude; Yours yours in truth

P. F.

To

Mrs Francis, at her

house at

Hampstead.

Bruxells. 11th: August. 1767.

My dearest Betsy

We arrived here last Night perfectly well, tho' not a little fatigued. This is the best News I all that I am able to send You yet. We left my father at Lisle very much out of order; but we expect him here to night. the roads are all paved, which I promise you is the most detestable Circumstance in the World to one inclined naturally inclined to ache. We are vastly well lodged here & intend staying all the Week but I see no likelihood of ever going into Holland

I lay at Ghent last Sunday Night & stayed there the greatest part of yesterday. Tell Mrs Langdale that I saw her Daughters & delivered her Letter. they are perfectly well, & I think surprisingly improved. Gravier is now sitting by to have his hair dress't, in order to ascend a superb Coach

I have nothing to add but what you know

that I am yours most truly & affectionately
Make my Compliments to all friends &
kiss my sweet Children

Yours yours
Ph

I wrote to you from ~~[illegible]~~ a place called
aire in flanders.

To
Mrs Francis, at her
house at
Hampstead

War Office: 9th January 1768

My dear Mac.

I write you a few lines because the Packquet goes, not that I have any thing more interesting to lay before you than the sight of my handwriting. A regular Stage Coach must sometimes travel empty. Materials as well as Passengers depend upon Accident. But even if I had anything of Consequence to communicate, neither my hand nor head at this moment are in a Condition to give it utterance. All Yesterday! — all Last Night! an Atlantick of Claret! Your friend Nugent furnished the Wine, & being one of the Company himself took Care, that it should be excellent, & that he himself should carry home a reasonable Share of it; — at Eleven we adjourned to the Bedford Arms, by way of changing the Scene not the

the Liquor, for there too this worthy Gentleman
assured us he could answer for the Claret; in
short we he answered for it so well that I left him
speechless, the rest of the Company stark mad. Not-
withstanding I exerted every possible artifice to
preserve my Reason, I was at last obliged to sur-
render at discretion, or rather all discretion. But
all this innocent Mirth compared to what Nugent
threatens us with at his house next Tuesday. Oh
this
is the Temperance, Soberness & Chastity
which my Godfathers & Godmothers answered for at
my Baptism! I suppose now you want to know
something relative to Yourself or your family. All I can
tell you is that your Father has had a fire which does
not keep him warm; — I mean St. Anthony's Fire

Mother thinks the piles will in a few years carry her off — Mrs Clark is bedridden — & Patty ~~confined~~ has not yet been able to account for the loss of her Senses. —— Your Sister & Neices are well; I'm to dine today at Mr Chandlers. — So there's my history. — It's all matter of fact I assure you.

As to publick News, I would not tell you any if I could. I wrote to Captain Maturin by last Packet. he is Generall Gage's Secretary & I dare say will be civil to you if Yours to New York.

I seriously never felt any think like the frost we have had here for a Fortnight past. Brandy forgot how to warm, & Fire to burn — its just gone. That's true, I spent ten days at Bath since my last. Curse the Place; I shall never rely any thing again. Its Elysium. Adieu. Yr

London. 12th March 1768.

Dear Mack.

The last packet brought me two Letters from you, after a very long Interval, of the 15 of Decr & 20th of January. The first Observation I made upon them was that they were not under the Secretary at Wars Cover, upon which I leave you to make your own Reflections. But now for my Answers. — As long as you grow fat in America, You may be said to be in a thriving Condition; — the future must take Care of itself. But would it not be worth your Pondering to consider what is to be done when your Term with Mr. Reade expires. Undoubtedly you have considered of it; yet if you should not be able to Resolve on any thing, I am sure I enter too much into your Situation to blame you. We have long since agreed how easy it is to find fault: but whoever fails

You

Two pages have here not been Photographed, and two have been cut out of the Letter Book.

you, be always assured that my heart will for ever
be open to you. in short — if you cannot determine
upon any plan where you are, you have nothing
to do but to return to my house & stay with, until
something else can be thought of. — I so much agree
with you about landed possessions in America, & the
security that may arise from them hereafter, that
I shall commission my cousin Captain Francis, who
is now here to purchase a thousand Acres for me in
the course of next summer, which pleasures me he
can do for a mere trifle. By the by this is a noble
Fellow, & if you meet him in America, will, I am
sure, contribute not a little to the happiness of your
life there. My other unfortunate cousin, as far as
I can learn, for I never see him, has no sort of
prospect of being extricated from his difficulties
without an immense Loss. Poor fellow; — I feel for
him

be inadequate to so gross an Insult. However he found at last, by the Sneers thrown out against him in the publick papers, & Elsewhere, that to take Mr. Rice into the Field was unavoidable; certainly the only wise one he could take. His Late, was unwarrantable. They met. Rutherford fired & missed Rice, who stood fulle, & as soon as he had received the fire, discharged his own pistol in the Air. upon this they were reconciled; but the paper war between the other parties has continued as furiously as ever.

Your Sister & the Children are perfectly well. Your father writes so fully to you upon his affairs that I shall not trouble you with any other account of them. Besides I am but imperfectly informed in those matters, except that in general I understand the old folks are tolerably happy

that party continuing to be mad enough in all reason. — Tomorrow I set out for Bath where I am to spend a Week, with a jolly party Me That place has certainly bewitched; yet one would think my father's going to reside here would have removed the Charm.

Did I tell you that Mr. Chandler has bought a large house in Bruton Street. They are now at the summit of their wishes in point of habitation. It is to undergo a thorough Repair, & I think they expect to be in possession in two or three Months. Wilkes is setting up for the City of London. We are all as mad about Elections, as ever you Americans were about the Stamp Act. I donot recollect any thing else that has happened here worth your attention.

Pray let me know how my Cousins in general have received you. — & whether you have had any

Sign of Life from Captain Maturin.

It is now generally thought that Jack Wilkes will be elected for the City of London.

He dined the Lord Mayor Yesterday with the rest of the Candidates.

Farewell my dear mac,
jusqu'au revoir
Phanis.

The Pamphlets I shall
commit to the Care of Messrs Neave.

I send You herewith two Letters from
Your Father.

Your Sister & Neices Shrive tolerably.
Yours again & again

London. 16th: April. 1768.

My dear Mac.

Since my Letter by the last Packquet, nothing has happened here of Profit or Amusement: but I am determined You shall never want the Consolation of a few Lines, while I am able to write them. M. Wilkes, after failing in his Attempt to be chosen for the City of London, thought it adviseable to offer himself Candidate for the County of Middlesex, and has carried it by a large Majority. The attention of the Kingdom has, for above a month past, been entirely fixed upon this Gentleman and his Measures; & we still wait with fearfull Expectation for the 20th of this month, on which day he has pledged his honour that he will surrender himself in Westminster hall.

About three Weeks ago, our Coach with all the family in it but myself was broke down in a most dreadfull Manner by a Country Waggon drawn by eight horses.

from Madeira arrived some time after your first from New York. — Your Account of the Disputes about Precedence between General Gage & Sir Harry Moore is perfectly ridiculous. Is it possible for grave men to fight about a place in a County dance!

I understand that Foote cleared four thousand pounds last Summer; an immense sum for a man with one leg!

And now my dear Mac, Farewell My hand is tired, and I have said my say.

Farewell.

Yours most faithfully

Philip Francis.

another Letter from your Father

War Office. 11th June. 1768.

My dear Mac.

This Letter will probably be a short one for a very good reason, because I have not Materials to make it a long one, for you know I do not mind Trouble, not I. a Letter of yours dated in March is arrived since I wrote last, but I think it does not require any particular Answer, tho if it did, — for I have left it at home. Domestick News is as insipid as usual Children bawling, Servants fighting, my Wife scolding, your Father & Mother weeping; & Patty raving mad. These with the addition of a preternatural appearance &c. unaccountable Noises which have been repeatedly heard in my house in Duke Street at the dead of Night, make up the perpetual history of my Family. Without a Jest, I have myself

heard a most extraordinary Ringing of Bells about Midnight, & have never been able to discover the Cause. Now for News.

Mr Wilkes's Outlawry is reversed upon an Error pointed out by Lord Mansfield himself. – he will receive Sentence this Term.

Mr Rigby is appointed Sole paymaster General & Mr Thos Townshend is to be one of the vice Treasurers of Ireland.

Mr Cooke Member for Middlesex is dead & Serjeant Glyn has declared himself a Candidate. It is supposed he will succeed.

I am going to dine this day at [illegible] in the Country ~~house~~. he has [illegible] an Elegant house in the Country, on Barne Common, a Carriage & he wants

nothing now but a pack of hounds and a couple of Race horses to finish his character.

Your Mother is at our house. she looks better than Ever I think, but has no hopes of seeing her dear Child again. —

I cannot write more, but You may depend upon my Prayers.

Yours most faithfull

Francis.

Herewith goes a Letter from your Daddy

London. 7th Decr 1760.

My dear Mac.

I believe I have two Letters from You to acknowledge; the last introduces Mr. Cox, whom I knew a little before. I like his appearance and Behaviour very much. I shall, cultivate his acquaintance.

There is nothing new here that you can be interested in, Except perhaps that Merrick has compleated his ruin, and that Tom Smith has got the place of Mustermaster, in the room of our poor friend Chitty. Your Sister and the Children are perfectly well. Your Nephew thrives miraculously, and seems already to be a conversible person. You may give my Thanks to Mrs Francis for the preserved Fruit, tho' between ourselves it was hardly worth sending from America.

We are in great Alarm & Expectation about the Middlesex

Election which comes on tomorrow. Each party believe what they wish with respect to the Event, and nobody can pretend to form a Judgement.

It is expected that Wilkes will infallibly be Expelled; - When I tell you that the Earls Chatham and Temple are cordially reconciled, You have all the News I am worth.

I examined our Tickets this morning. neither of them were drawn last Night, so we still have hopes and Moonshine. Away to Your prayers, and if we donot get a prize You have my Leave to omit Your prayers for the Remainder of Your Life. On Saturday the 17th I propose a Trip to Bath and stay a Fortnight.

I am, Dear Mac, Yours
most faithfully
P. Francis.

Inclosed is a Letter from
Your Father. — adieu

War Office: 7th June. 1769.

Dear Mac.

This is the day on which the Packet ought to be sent. Whether it will or not is no affair of mine. Yet I hate the manual part of writing, and shall therefore endeavour to give you a great deal of Matter in as little Compass as possible. The present State of Politics stands thus.

The French have lately received a severe Check in Corsica. Nothing they have accomplished yet has done them any honour. Government assists Paoli underhand, and Subscriptions are openly advertised for Individuals to pay in their Contributions to the Cause of Liberty.

The Turks have been defeated and lost a place of some Importance. It is thought that this Rupture with Russia will be fatal to the Ottoman Empire. Poland is ruined. Denmark is armed, & in a strong State of Defence. The King of Sweden has

has declared his Resolution to remain quiet and take no Turn or part either way.

Lord North has assured the House of Commons that, at the opening of next Sessions, there is a Resolution to accommodate Matters with America, to the satisfaction of all Parties. — No bad news I presume for your Worship.

The Duke of Grafton is shortly to be married to Miss Wrottesley, a Neice of the Duke of Bedford. This Match occasions much Speculation, as it threatens a Close Union of Families, consequently a Coalition of Political Strength.

Wilkes has not of late been much the Subject of Conversation. The supporters of the Bill of Rights seemed to separate their Interests from his, and I believe have done neither him nor themselves any good. — The Freeholders of Middlesex have presented their Petition to the King without any apparent Effect.

The concluding Page of this Letter has not been Photographed.

London. 5 July. 1769.

Dear Mac.

I find it so abominably hot, that, if I had any thing
to write, My Fingers have hardly Strength to perform
their Office. But this is a Stile of Weather which we
have no great Reason to complain of. If I had but
fructifying virtue enough to bring my Son's Teeth into
view, I should not care if all the Hay in England were
reduced to Tinder. His Gums however perform
the Office of Teeth to a Miracle.

News since my last.

Messrs. Townshend & Sawbridge are elected Aldermen
& Sheriffs, with an Astonishing Unanimity.

The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, & three City Members are
this day gone up with City Petition to the King.

The County of Surry have also voted a Petition.
The Militia of Buckinghamshire have refused to be
imbodied, & I fear this Spirit prevails in other
Counties. — Paoli escaped in an English Vessel to
Leghorn. The News from America make things
worse & worse. Those from the East Indies rather
better. — I have just heard that when the Lord
Mayor presented the said Petition he said, "Sir,
"this is a Petition from your Majesty's City of
"London, complaining of Grievances, which we
"humbly hope, your Majesty will redress". The
* received it with Indifference, gave it to one
of the Lords of the Bedchamber, & passed on
without speaking. Alderman Backford
then pulled the Lord Mayor by the Sleeve
to draw him away.

* A word, apparently "King" has been here cut out of the Letter Book

Be cautious how you quote me for any political Intelligence. — We are assured that Lord Chatham is to be at the Levy on Friday.

I am going for a week to Tunbridge Wells. Give my Respects to all my Relations of all sexes, Colours, and Conditions.

Yours most faithfully

P. Francis.

The Duke of Grafton is absolutely married, and last Saturday chosen Chancellor of Cambridge.

Ingrefo. 30. July. 1769.

My dear Brother.

Mr. L. Baker, who will deliver you this Letter, is a Person, for whom my good Friend Mr. Calcraft himself interests. He is by Trade a Ship Builder, and reckoned one: commonly expert in his Profession. Particular Circumstances oblige him to try his Fortune in Philadelphia. What I wish is that you would take up his Cause among your Friends, & endeavour to get him into Employment. I beg you will also make it a request in my Name to Enoch Francis and all my Relations in that Quarter, to assist him with their Interest & Protection. Believe me always most faithfully Yours

P. Francis.

London 2d. August. 1769

My dear Mac:-

Your Letters are always very copious and very entertaining, but the Matter of them seldom requires an Answer; so I leave them at home when I write at the War Office, and answer You as it happens.

I see plainly that one of my Letters to You has miscarried, in which I told You that both our Tickets were returned Blanks. Fortune would not even trust us with twenty Pounds. This Miscarriage of my Letter vexes me, for I fear it has fallen into the hands of the Philistines, & what more was in it God knows. I suspect the Misfortune happened, while General Gage was at Boston. —

I have no material domestick Occurrence since

my last, except that my Son and heir has been at the Point of Death, with vomiting & purging. We were all stark mad for a Week; but by Doctor Aberdeens assistance he is once more upon his Legs, & in fine Condition. I humbly conceive & apprehend that he is one of the most respectable Children in this Town, & does infinite Credit to the person who took the Trouble of begetting him.

Your Sister is tormented with the Cramps, & your humble Servant has actually the Rheumatism in his left Shoulder. Last night I had it on the other Side. The Change is pleasing enough.

You are not my Friend, if You do not hear with more than ordinary pleasure that, Mr. Peter Godfrey, who died about three weeks ago,

The next page in the Letter Book has not been Photographed. One third of the half Sheet on which it was written, and the two ensuing Pages have been cut out of the Letter Book.

People, if not a total Change of Men & Measures.
If You Americans can submit to be quiet, that is
to confine Yourselves to a passive Resistance,
You will infallibly carry all Your Points. Sholi
is not come to England. You will see by the pub:
lick Papers what a scurvy Situation * he
has fallen into. He swears he will prosecute
Horne, & Horne swears he will plead for himself.
It seems he has no confidence in Lawyers, &
intends to tell Lord Mansfield as much: It is
supposed he will committed for Contempt, bef:
he has half done his defence. "

* Two words, apparently "George Onslow" have been here half cut out of the Letter Book

London. 4th: October. 1769.

My dear Mac.

I will never let a pacquet go empty handed, tho' I have little or nothing to say. Your friend and my Second Cousin, viz. Tilman is a person whom I like wonderfully. Nay absolument he is fine fellow in every sense. He seems to be young, and I am often astonished at his understanding. He dines with me this very day. For publick Matters you may Depend upon it that affairs in this country are appr[illegible]

[illegible] Between ourselves, it is my opinion that this Parliament will be dissolved. Freeothick is likely to be mayor. In short we are

* Parts of 2 lines have been here cut out of the Letter Book

are in a [illegible] of Rage & Confusion not to be
described, & hardly to be believed. My Son was
yesterday a Year old.

Adieu my dear Friend, & forgive
this Brevity. Yours P. Francis.

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* Two words apparently "ferment" and "Rage" have been here half cut out of the Letter Book

London. 13th January. 1770.

My dear Brother.

Notwithstanding I am at this instant overwhelmed with a Torrent of all manner of Business, & all the plagues of Egypt, I cannot let a Packet go without a few Lines. We are all in the strangest political Confusion that I believe this Country ever experienced. — Lord Chatham has declared himself in the most decisive Manner against the proceedings of the House of Commons. The Chancellor, the same — for which he is turned out, but nobody yet in his place. The Commander in chief — the same, & it is supposed he be out in a few days. Sir George Saville, Bourke & others, doing everything they can to be sent to the To — all this curious enough. I wish

* A word apparently "Tower" has been here cut out of the Letter Book

wish we were all quiet. These times will only answer for people, who have nothing to lose

I have your Letter of the 2.d of Dec.r

Your Sister is not brought to bed but Expects every hour.

Adieu — adieu

P. F.

inclosed are two Letters from Your Father

Lord Huntingdon turned out from Groom of the Stole.

Duke of Manchester resigned

Duke of Northumberland in the Minority.

War Office: 7th February 1770.

My dear Mac.

I wish with all my heart I had time to do Justice and pay you an Equivalent for the Kindness and let me say with Gratitude, for the Length of your Letters. I have received those of the 2d and 13 of December. If I waited untils I had time to answer them as I ought to do, I believe you would never hear from me again. The present Condition of Politics is enough to agitate the Mind of a calmer Person than I am, and with Official Business, I promise you I am almost overwhelmed. — The Duke of Grafton's Resignation has left the administration in the Hands of the Duke of Bedford's Friends, who seem determined to

to hold fast, as long as their Employments are tenable. The opposition is truly formidable and encreases every day. on Monday last two most vehement protests, against the proceedings of the Majority, were signed by 41 Lords, a greater Number I believe than ever signed a protest before. — By next Paequet, You may be pretty sure that things will be brought to a Consistence, and we shall all know what to trust to.

On the Evening of the 25 of January, our dearest Betsy was safely deliver of another Girl, — it's really a fine Child, & both are well.

Give my Love to Colonel Francis, & bid him take Care of my Acres. I am, sincerely speaking, hurried to Death. Adieu my dear Friend. Yours most faithfully FK

Poor Tilghman has had a violent Cold upon him these three Months, & has suffered abominably. For fear You should have no Letter from Fulham I must take upon myself to tell You that Your Nephew & Neices are all in a State of raging, roaring health.

I was just going to seal this Letter, when I receive Yours of the 2d. of January. A thousand thanks to my poor Cousin, & all my good Friends.

Tell him that if he will send me a Description & act of the Lands, I believe I could get the Grant here for nothing. I depend upon his Skill in the Choice. It is really impossible for me to say more.

Don't let it be confined to a thousand Acres if more good Land can be had.

London. 4th. April. 1770.

My dear Mac.

We have a Bouquet from New York with Letters of the 21st and 22d of February, but no Advices from Philadelphia. You are so punctual a Man, that when You fail to write, Your friends are uneasy. I say this rather for the odd people than myself. I am no way given either to Ceremony or idle Apprehensions.

The inclosed Newspapers will give You some Idea of our present State of Politics. The most material Event, since my last, is that Mr Grenville's Bill for regulating the Mode of deciding contested Elections, has passed the House of Commons. They will now be determined by thirteen Persons chosen by Ballot, and sworn like a Jury. This is supposed to be a great Point gained against Bribery & Corruption

and mortification to the Ministry, who one
night divided against it to no Purpose. Aureste;
they stand their Ground, & the King seems
determined to support them.
You have now got a Wilkes of Your own at
New York, so I suppose Your Zeal for our
poor Patriot will decline. He comes out the 18th
instant, but in my own Opinion it makes
no Difference to any Body but himself.
My Wife & Children are pretty well.
Your Nephew promises to be a Hero in
the Demolition of Gingerbread.
I am going tonight to sup at Tilman's
Chambers. He leads a pleasant sort of a
Life, & studies the Law like a Dragon.
His Principles are truly Patriotic, especially

when in Lignor.

I protest I have nothing more to say; but be so kind as to observe that I have written twice by a private Ship, since the last Packquet.

and so farewell.

P. Francis.

London. 12th June. 1770.

Dear Mac.

Since my last, I have received Your Letters of the 9th of March and 25th of April. I do not think they contain anything that requires a more particular Answer, than my Thanks for Your writing so constantly and so well. — In the Matter of the Executorship, I shall rely on Colonel Francis and Yourself. If you both think it right, I shall always be ready, at the common Notice of Bills of Exchange, to pay the Money. —

The Princess of Wales is gone to Germany. She means to shew the World that there is Nothing in that pretended Secret Influence, which has been so much talked of lately. It can hardly be a Party of Pleasure at her Time of Life, and many People think she will never return. If

If the Opposition do not intirely succeed in all their Designs, they have at least [illegible] of tormen[illegible]

* [illegible] ly most abominably. Junius is not known, and that Circumstance is perhaps as curious as any of his Writings. I have always suspected Burke; but, whoever his, it is impossible he can ever discover himself. The Offence he has given [illegible] jesty [illegible] is more than any private Man could support. he would soon be crushed. Almon has been found guilty of republishing the Letter to the King, and Woodfall, who was the original Publisher, is to be tried tomorrow If he be found guilty, I fancy he will have reason to remember it — I have been a Tour thro' Wiltshire, and as far as Bath, on horseback and

* Two passages have been here cut out of the Letter Book

and in company with Tilman. The more I know this Youth, the better I like him. On Friday next Your Sister sets out for Margate, where she proposes to stay two Months. They both want ducking; — I mean she and her Daughter Bess. — You have given me no orders for the present Lottery. If You like to have a Ticket, I may hear from You before the Drawing. Pray, Sir, have You any Thoughts of returning to England? — And so farewell

Yours most faithfully

P. Francis.

London. 5th Sept.r 1770.

My dear Mac.

I am every way in Your Debt — I can pay You the Money You have been so good as to advance for me but how can I thank You enough for the Kindness & Alacrity, with which You have also looked after my little affairs. — Your Letters too! — to such an idle fellow as myself they are absolutely unanswerable. Pray make one Addition to all Your kindness, — take the best Advice you can procure about what I shall do with my new Establishment. I make no doubt that it is the finest Land in the Universe, but if it were ten times better, what the Devil am to do with it? Another Thing — go upon Your Knees immediately to our dear honest Cousin Tubby, & intreat his Pardon for my not answering his last. He talks with wonderful Sangfroid of what appears to me to be Equivalent to the Acquisition of an Empire; & then he takes for granted that I have at least as much Interest as the Prime Minister. In short my dear Friend, say Every Thing in Your Power to pacify

him, but in Truth I must know a little more of the Matter before I embark my thousands in such a project. Make Yourself Master of his Scheme, & when You come over we'll talk seriously about it — is he not a little visionary? — Notwithstanding their public Disavowal of New York, I suppose all the Colonies will import Goods underhand. —

We had a grand Party Yesterday in Duke Street. Tilman dined & supped with us. Tell his good Mother from me with many Compliments (for I hear you are very intimate in that house) that her son Dick is one of the finest Fellows I have ever seen — he is too good for America. I am not very lavish in Praising people without good Grounds. — For domestic Affairs I refer You to Your Father's Journal; — I saw him this Morning in high Spirits at Fulham,

Yo. Dear Mac —

Adieu Phanny.

London: 11th: Decr. 1770.

My dear Mac.

I have not written to You for the two last Paquets, because I really expected to have seen You some time ago in England. At Last I have received Yours of the 26th of October, by which I understand that You have escaped back to Philadelphia from a thousand Disasters. But Your Return is as uncertain as ever? — My Life is one continued Scene of Fermentation. The approach of a War loads me with Business, as, by and by, I hope it will with Money. — I shall send the £25 by the first Opportunity to Fulham. Pray tell the new married Man that a tenth Company is going to be added to the 44th Regiment, and that he will certainly be called upon

as a Seconded Officer. — We expect a Declaration of War every Day, and great Preparations are making by Sea & Land. — Your Nephew is the finest Creature that does honour to the Earth. —

Your Sister & all the little Folks are well. I must bid You farewele.

P. Francis.

I wish You would tele me what I am to do with these thousand Acres ——

London: 12th Febry. 1771.

My dear Brother.

I really reproach myself for suffering two Packets to depart without a Letter for You. I cannot tell how it has happened; so without farther Examination or Apology, I shall hope You will forgive me. — At last we have some thing like a Peace with Spain: — how likely it is to continue; is another Question. Our Armaments, particularly of Ships, seem to continue as vigorously, as if War had been declared. In my own private Opinion, the Spaniards always meant War; & we shall have it, as soon as They & the Frenche are ready for us. — You Americans will be Losers

by the Bargain. In War we should probably have wanted Your Assistance, & yielded to Your own Terms. But now You must submit. I cannot forgive Your staying in America, upon any Principle, but your making a Fortune. One would think You might venture to give one a Hint, or so. —

Your Father's Letter, which I sent by the Packet, will, I suppose, contain a true Account of Family Matters. We are well. Your Nephew is, without Flattery, a most extraordinary Child. His Mind & Body seem to be every thing we could wish.

Wilman dined with me yesterday, & swallowed a Moiety of two Bottles of Claret. — I shall not easily be reconciled to.

his Leaving old England. — Tell his Father & Mother very seriously, that it would be a Pity to remove him so soon from his Studies. — alias — from Covent Garden, [illegible] &c &c —
You can't conceive how close he applies. Your old Friend Meyrick I hear has espoused that Young Lady — & does Business again. The rest of your Acquaintance are pretty much in Statu quo. We lead a jolly kind of a Life. — This night to a Concert — on Thursday the Ridotto. — on Saturday the Opera — & on Tuesday following a Grand private Ball at the London Tavern. — We desire Nothing, but that You were here to partake with us. —
Adieu. Ph

London. 6th March. 1771.

Monsieur mon frere.

On Monday last I received your Letter of the 16th of January. After all your Cort. Peruv. the Bark that brings you to England will I fancy be of most use to you, at least in Point of bodily Health. Forgive the Pun. it is a Sin I am not often guilty of. But you are silent about your future Plans for Life. — Have you any, my friend, or are you as much afloat as ever. I inquire with Anxiety. — There was a Time, when I thought there might be a Turn of affairs, which would enable me to serve my Friends; but that prospect is vanished, & I fear there is no hope of it's returning with Substance. In my own place here, I am tolerably secure; & with this we must rest contented. — Tilman almost lives with us. He is so much in Fashion, that I have hardly an Acquaintance, who does not desire to see him

whenever we are invited. If he could keep his person free , I do not know how he could lead a pleasanter Life. Your father will I doubt not give You a Detail of our dining at Fulham on Sunday last. It was a Jubilee to the Old Folks. He is a wonderfull old Man, considering all Things.

Our Friends in Bruton Street improve every Day. We hardly ever meet, & I protest I cannot tell why, for I am no poorer than I was, when their Friendship was most ardent. My laying down the Coach was prudence not Necessity; but they, I suppose, suspect the contrary. At any rate, I know myself to be independant; & if it were otherwise, they are the last of the Creation, to whom I would yield a Tittle. — Yet my Contempt for them is expressed with all the politeness imaginable. They shall

have no Hold to fasten an Offence upon me.

In the Way of news, I think, we decline every Day. The House of Commons are every day treated like an Assembly of Pickpockets, & even the Newspapers have lost their Dignity.

There was a great & sudden Fall of the Stocks Yesterday, but I have not heard it accounted for upon any Principles, but the usual Roguery of the Alley.

The Whisper given about is, that the Duke of Choiseul is to be recalled, consequently an immediate War to be expected. But this I take to be Nonsense.

I shall be ready to honour Your Draughts. What do You propose to do with Your own Acres — & what wo. You advise me to do with mine? My Love to Turbot. He has Some Reason to be discontented with me, but not so much as he imagines. — inforce the Necessity of Tilman's staying here. — Adieu

How did You Americans like Lord Chatham's Speech. Was it really genuine — Vale

War Office: 1st May. 1771

My dear Brother.

I fear I load you with Postage inland, much more than my Letters are worth; but this is an Expence you must submit to, as long as you Express Satisfaction in hearing from me. — Long before this, I hope, Your Grievances have left you; — I mean the Rheumatism & Fever. You Americans have a wonderful Turn to Pain in the Bones. — If you have not made a thousand Compliments to Pubby Francis for me upon his Change of Condition, You deserve to be hanged. — I have used that honest Fellow infamously, but really between ourselves I cannot prevail upon myself to talk to a Man who makes so light of getting Large

Provinces into his Possession. For Gods
Sake, take excellent Care of my Land. If
I do not misunderstand you, You mean
that it must take Care of itself. I will either
pay the Money to Yr Father or otherwise
as You think proper. — If war had gone on,
Something might perhaps have offered for
You. But have Courage — We shall not
always be at the Foot of the Ladder. — I need
not be at the Toil of repeating Newspapers.
They will tell you enough of the Feuds among
Patriots, & the Progress of Faction. — The
Committee of Privileges made their Report
Yesterday to the House, but have done no more.
Nothing can be more ridiculous and
disgraceful both to the Committee & to the House
than this whole Business. — I shall not wonder
at

tho I have no sufficient Reason to expect, a Dissolution of Parliament & total Change of Hands. As Things now stand, it has a most uncomfortable Time of it. Lord Chatham is to move to morrow for an Address to dissolve. — Lord Halifax is either dead or dying; — if he should survive, he is to quit Business. Wilkes will probably be Sheriff. — A great Event has happened in the History of the Mackrabies. I have taken a little neat Cottage at Fulham for the Summer. Your Fathers Letter I dare say will be full of it. — We go on Saturday. I saw him this Morning, amazingly well. — Your Nephew is a most glorious Animal, but not very like his Uncle. — Adieu

Yours Francis

War Office: 4th Sept. 1771.

My dear Mac.

I have duly received all your Letters tho' I have them not before me to acknowledge them by the Dates. I really have scarce time to perform the common Offices of nature; and if writing to my best Friend were as natural to me as eating or sleep, I must either do it at unreasonable Hours, & in a slovenly manner, or give it up intirely. Perhaps it will be some amends to you to say that you live in my thoughts. I see how uncomfortable Your undecided Situation must be, but upon this Subject it's impossible for me to say any thing to the purpose. — If you could form such Commercial Connexions in North America as would enable you to act upon your own

Account, I should think it not impractica-
-ble to raise a Sum of Money for You on
this side, to begin upon. — Your Father's
Letter, which goes herewith, will naturally
be filled with the Departure of our good
Friend Tilman. — He breakfasted with me
for the last Time on Wednesday the 2d of last
Month, & was to get into his Post Chaise at
4 o'Clock that Afternoon. Our parting was
no other that if we were to dine together
the Day following; — Yet I shall probably
never see him again. I do not think that
as to the Choice of Friends or Companions, it
is an easy matter either to please my
Fancy, or to satisfy my Judgement. This
Villain succeeded in both compleatly; and
now I ought to hate him heartily for giving

me, such Cause of Regret, as will last as long as I live. — He is to write to me constantly; but, at this Distance & with this Prospect, it will be the dead Letter, which he has been studying so long. — You are fortunate in waiting for his Return to America. — We are all pretty quiet here — but it seems to me rather an anxious pause or Interval in Contention, than the tranquil Security of a wise & firm Government. Tilman is loaded with Politics, and can explain every thing, as well as I can; — I begin now to think that some Discovery will be made about Portsmouth Fire. — The Duke of Gloucester is gone to Lisbon.

Tilman will tell you wonders of my Children Particularly Your Nephew — Adieu Adieu

Francis.

War Office. 4th Dec.r 1771.

My dear Mac.

Go directly to Silman, ask him what News. Do You and he ever meet privately, that is, at a proper Distance from Quakers, Indians & Mad Americans. If You do, drink my Health very cordially — You may let the Colonel, alias broken Lieutenant be of the Party, but none of the profane. — The Rogue loves Claret. — Since Silman arrived among You, I hope You found the Climate was improved. We used to make it out very tolerable together. — Do tell me a little whether you are determined to take Root in America, or ever to be transported

home again? — By the time you get back You will have a fine Crop of Nephews & Nieces — Little Philip is a hero in every Sense of the Word. For Gods Sake, pardon my not writing any more. — I am jaded to Death. — The Irish parliament have struck Jerry Dyson's Pension. The Duke of Cumberland & his Dutchess are returned, & are forbidden the Court. But it is supposed that all this will soon be made up.

Adieu my dearest Friend

Yours Francis

London. 3d. May. 1769.

My dear Brother

The last Packet brought me no Letters from Philadelphia, so I have nothing to answer. If you do not furnish me with materials, the stream of my correspondence will flow in a narrow Channel. We have politicks enough god knows, but as I have not the honour to be intrusted with the Secrets of either Party, I can give You Nothing but what you will see much more elegantly set forth in the Newspapers. Truth is out of the Question. Each party says and believes just what suits themselves without Decency or Moderation, and a neutral Party is detested by both. a Philosopher has no more Chance among them than a Cat in Hell.—/ I wish by the by that the person, who stole my Cat were in the warmest Corner the Devil could find for him / The famous Middlesex petition was intended to

have been presented to the King this day, but I hear that it is now deferred until Tuesday next. The same day the Counsell, on behalf of the Freeholders of Middlesex who presented a Petition to the House of Commons last Saturday, against Colonel Lutterells keeping his Seat, is to be heard at the Bar of the House.

My Wife & Children are in a flourishing condition. Your Quaker and Mr Cox assure me that, if the American Trade be not quite lost, You are likely to form Connections in that way, by which You may establish yourself advantageously at home. Comfort me with a Confirmation of this Intelligence. Give my Love to Tubby, & his Brother, & my Respects to the rest of his family.

Adieu, my dearest Friend.

FR

War Office : 14th: July. 1770.

My dear Soul.

Phil Baggs & I are just returned from a peppering hot Ride to Fulham. The Childers are all as well as possible. But that history I leave to Your Father, whom I left writing to You. They have fixed for our dining with them next Friday, and I do not doubt but he will tell You that we are proposing to goto Margate on Saturday sennight; but it is by no Means certain, so do not depend uponit. At any rate we shall not arrive until the Evening. I hope to convey Tilman, Baggs & Grazier with me. Lobat

the

The Devil is the Matter with this good Lady that makes her Cut! When I arrive I shall endeavour to make her all the Compensation in My Power. Macnemara will be with You next Friday. — I shall send William for the plates tonight.

I rejoice at the Convalescence of my Horse.

Inclosed You will find a Bank Note for £10. — don't talk of necessaries — I desire You will have every thing You like, and so dearest Adieu ——

PF

Becket *(Kt) 24th Octr 1782

My dearest Betsy.

I arrived at this charming place on Monday at noon. The human person cannot be better provided for, than it is here; not even at Mr Elliss. Here are Lord and Lady Lincoln, Lord Huntingdon, Bishop of Salisbury, Mrs Barrington, and various others. Considering the Company I keep, you must not wonder, if you find me Extravagantly polite when I return. Among other Improvements in my Behaviour, I resist all manner of Temptations to go to Sleep after Dinner; or if I am not quite awake, I sleep with my Eyes open, which does as well. I have just Linnen enough to keep me clean till ~~Wednesday~~ Sunday; — I shall probably

*) Note) The seat of Lord Barrington in Berkshire.

probably lye at Isleworth on Monday then
in Town the next Day. My Compliments
to the Ladies.

Yours Yours
P. F.

SIR. P. FRANCIS.

No. III.

more earnestly do I intreat You, not to attribute this Offer to any Motive, that ought to disin:
:cline You to me.

No. IV.

I insist on Your sending me the proof the first Speech on the Propy. Pay (28. March) that I may correct it:

P. F.

No. V.

Pray never mind any thing I say. I slave myself to death, & write & speak on instant impression. So I am very sorry if I have offended You

P. F.

No I.

SIR. P. FRANCIS.

Upper Harley Street. 20th January 1785.

My dear Sir.

I received the favour of your Letter, with a real Sensation of Pleasure, but not unmixed with some Uneasiness.

× × × × × × × × × × ×

You will easily conceive that, in the present Circumstances, I can have no Interest with the Admiralty; and I assure You that my Interest at the India House is worse than negative. In that Quarter, I and all who belong to me are proscribed. I did what I could to save the Body Corporate from Ruin; and that was not the way to gain the Friendship of Individuals. Mr. Hastings took the opposite Course, and has succeeded accordingly.

× × × I well know how heavily the public Burthens press, in every Sense and Direction. × × ×

an Indian, as an Angel can look like a Devil. — Why don't You come, friend? Are You doing any Good there? — Yours, with a mortal Antipathy to writing. PF

(N.B. The rest of the Letter has been cut out of the Letter Book)

London. 10th Sept.r 1768.

My dear Mac.

I have no Letter from you, since I wrote by last Packet; if I had no better reason for writing now than to communicate useful Intelligence to You, I might as well tickle your cheeks with a peacock's Feather. But I am determined You shall never be without a Monthly Memorandum of my Regard.

Your Sister expects to be delivered in few days. In the Mean time she is tormented with only the following disorders — viz. Cramps, Toothach, swelled Legs & heart Burn. to say nothing of a perpetual Cholic & low fever otherwise

she finds herself in perfect health.

I am well & live the Life of a prince.
Heres your voluminous father must
make up for my Deficiency. and so
farwell

Yours

Pharing.

I have sent you two pamphlets by
Ship

War Office: 4th: January. 1769.

My dear Mac.

After all reasonable compliments and good wishes, on my part, be so good as to read the inclosed history from Your Father. The good man writes enough for your whole Family, and saves my Conscience a word of Scruples about the Shortness of my Letters.

I am just returned from spending a riotous Fortnight at Bath. Grevier and two others filled a Postcoach, which was dragged, with no small Velocity, by four Horses. We travelled like Gentlemen, & lived like Rakes. — All our News here is that Wilkes is elected alderman of Farringdon without. At this rate, I see no reason why he may not be Sheriff and Lord Mayor in regular Succession; & why not Prime Minister before he dies. In short nothing

nothing can be more ridiculous than every thing
that happens about this Gentleman. Every attempt
that has been made to injure or oppress him
has in reality done him Service; yet after all
I apprehend he will infallibly be Expelled the
House of Commons. The Election for Middlesex
has raised such a Ferment, that even
America has been laid aside, Corsica not once
thought of. The ministry are supposed to be
in a strange State of Confusion, & many Changes
are actually talked of. So much for news and
Politics. The domestic history of Duke Street
is pretty much the same as in my last.
My Son, that is, Your Nephew, & Gravier's
Godson, thrives admirably, tho' God knows the
Weather is bad enough to kill a horse. While

I lived at Bath in every species of Debauche
my health was unimpaired; but the
moment I return to this cursed Regularity
of drinking nothing, & going to bed & getting
up early, me voici enrhumé comme
un tigre. — I can hardly see, breath or
speak; — Therefore I see no reason why I should
write, any more.

Sick or well, drunk or sober,
Yours Remains.

War Office: 1st March 1769.

My dear Friend.

I hope you are by this time convinced that I have never omitted a Pacquet. The Letter you miss probably took a Circuit to Boston, in pursuit of General Gage, before it reached Philadelphia. A Letter is but a small Tribute to an absent Friend, and believe me I pay it willingly.

The voluminous particularity of your Father's Correspondence is both an Inconvenience and Relief to me. It saves me the Necessity of writing a long Letter, but it deprives me of the Materials even of a short one. Domestick Occurrences admit of a mighty pretty detail, upon which a Man may write for ever, without Labour or Invention. The only matter of

of this Sort, which I shall presume to trouble you with is, that your Nephew has been inoculated, and is perfectly recovered. All the old women of the Neighbourhood agree that he is as like somebody or other as ever he can stare, and upon the whole a most wonderfull manchild. For the rest, I may safely refer You to Your Daddy.

Politicks are in as notable a Confusion as ever. A Phanomenon has lately appeared, which I believe, is seriously alarming to Government a Subscription has been opened by a Set of grave moderate People, and no Wilkites, in support of — what do You think. — why nothing less than the Bill of Rights. Some Thousands have already been Subscribed; but in what Matter or manner they intend to apply their money, is

* A half Sheet has been here cut out of the Letter Book.

War Office: 5th April. 1769.

My dear Brother.

Your friend Mr Wharton has delivered his Credentials. I have been, and shall be, as civil to him as I possibly can. He gives me such an Account of you as is enough to make me love the man without further Recommendation. He says You are better received than any young man that ever went to America, and that You are likely, if the Trade be not quite lost, to form such commercial Connexions as You may improve to a happy Establishment at home. I wish you yourself would give me some hints of this Nature to keep up my Spirits.

The private history goes on as usual. My Wife & Children, except Sally, are as fat as You could wish.

My Son is the finest Boy of that Age (viz six Months) in the universe. — For Politics & News I refer You to the inclosed Paper: — it is a Curiosity even here, and will be much more so in Philadelphia. Your Friends of the Crown Party are in statu quo. Tell me something about Lands. —

I own it would be more to my Credit to be able to fill a sheet to you once a month than write in the manner I do; but I think my Brains, whenever I sit down to write a Letter, are addled; and for the life of me I cannot get one step farther. So I remain Yours &c.

P.S. Apropos. I condole with You on the death of your Aunt. One naturally grieves at the death of a Person, who leaves one nothing to rejoice at.

This has been always my case. No poor devil
ever had so little reason to rejoice at the
Death of his Relations. —

London: 6th Septr. 1769.

My dear Friend.

I have no Letter from you by the July Pacquet; but I hear Your Father has one of the 20th, and since I know You are well, I am contented.
Mr. Tilman seems to be a good humoured intelligent Young Man. He will not I believe complain of my Reception of him. The Quaker I fear will not be in the same Disposition. He dined with me once, & I invited him a second time, but he was Engaged, & since that time he has given no Signs of Life.
By the Size of Your Father's Letter, I take for granted all family News would only be a Repetition, as tiresome to You as to myself.

The Duke of Bedford is just beaten, in a most shamefull manner, out of his head Quarters at Bedford. The whole Corporation seem to have set him at Defiance, & never was there a more disgracefull Defeat. We have got a wonderfull Comet here, which, many people think, presages some dire Convulsion. Indeed there are other Prognostics Enough without the Comet. Our friend Grainer, on the Death of Mr. Godfrey, who is 76 & has kept his Chamber two years, will certainly be worth one hundred thousand pounds. It cannot be in better hands. Oh I wish I had any thing to say, that would justify my writing another Page. here I must stop. & so farewell.

Yours ever P. Francis.

London. 4th. Novr. 1769.

Dear Mac.

I have received Your Letter of the 6th of September, and must begin with my Condolences. I fear You have suffered more from the heat of the Madeira, than from that of the Sun. a little less of the former if you, please, my good Friend, and then you may set the Torrid Zone at Defiance.

There is certainly something fatal in these cursed Tickets. In the first place I assure You, I informed you of the Numbers by the earliest Opportunity; & long before the Lottery was drawn. But here they are again. 47.823. & 59896. they cost 28. 11. – & were both Blanks. all this. I have repeated to You twenty Times. – I have this day bought You a Ticket No. 47.170 – for Your own use entirely; – I can not bear to

to throw away My Money so foolishly. It cost, £ s. d. 14.16.6. and I wish you all Sort of Success. Gravier has given a Ticket to my Son. Take no Thought of the Trifling Ballance You owe me. I hope the Success of this Ticket will turn it in Your favour.

It is not in Words to describe the Species of Nephew which has fallen to Your Lot. He is a Sort of Phœnix, and I fear we are all growing too fond of him. — In the way of Politics, between ourselves everything seems to tend to make the Opposition
1* triumphant. The S[illegible] & Stile of the Addresses alarms the Ministry, & well they may. The City is absolutely hostile, & at the Devotion of
2* [illegible] Sheriffs. Granville himself gives up all Views of taxing America, & the Whole Country, I may say, has but one.

1* A word, apparently, "Spirit," has been here cut out of the Letter Book.
2* Some words, apparently "Beckford & the Sheriffs" have been here cut out of the Letter Book.

Opinion about the Appointment of Luttrell.
In my own private Idea, we shall
have a Dissolution of the Parliament. At
any rate, I think I cannot be hurt,
& may possibly better my Condition. In
the mean time, I believe I lead a
happier life than a prime Minister.
I see my friend Tub has had a long
Conversation with the Indians. Give
my Love to him & tell him I wish he
kept better Company. You are so well
established in Philadelphia, that my
Interest can no longer be of use to you.
You had good recommendations, yet if I am
not much mistaken, You are the man in the
World, who wanted them least. Adieu adieu
Ph

London. 6th Decr 1769.

Dear Mac.

I told you in my last that I had bought you a ticket
N° 47.170. — I am afraid You will be more disap-
-pointed than I was, when You — Matis come
up a Blank. My Son had a Ticket, which
has met with the same fate. But he himself
is a Prize; and as to the Lottery I expect no
better. — Our political Affairs stand pretty
much as per last. — Petitions gain
ground in all quarters. — but still I think
the Ministry stand their Ground, and seem
determined to meet the present parliament.
They have received a signal Blow in Ireland,
and how they will proceed is more than I can
comprehend. The House of Commons there have

thrown out the Money Bill, which I take to be the same thing as refusing the Supplies, & now I hear they are prorogued. They have also very near brought Sir George Macartney the late Secretary on his Knees at the Bar. — — The two [redacted] were hanged to day near Bethnal Green Church, & I hear the Mob have surrounded & pulled down from Z Your Chauvets house, & burnt all his Goods. The Russian Fleet do not seem yet to have made any Progress in their Expedition. Your Friend Meyrick is come to Life again. for all the rest I refer You to your copious father.

Yours Francis.

* The word 'Cutters' (the name of a Class of Weavers) has been here cut out of the Letter Book.

London. 10th Feb: 1770.

Dear Mac.

The Detention of the Pacquet gives me an Opportunity of saying a few Lines more in answer to Yours of the 2d. of January, and of sending You the inclosed curious Paper. It is expected that the second Protest will be expunged by order of the House; but this, [illegible] will [illegible]. The Printer is taken up I hear, (not Bingley, but one ~~Bell~~ Edmondes, who published the first,) and I suppose will be sent to Newgate by the Lords. — Edmondes is run away, but the Lords have ordered that he should be taken into Custody, wherever he is found. — Adieu. my dear Friend. Your Niece will be called Mary. — Phanus;

*Parts of two lines have been here cut out of the Letter Book.

London. 16. March. 1770.

My dear Brother

I take advantage of an Opportunity offered me by our friend Tilghman, to send You a few Newspapers, and let You know we are still alive & merry. The House of Commons Yesterday voted to address the King for a Copy of the City Remonstrance & his Majesty's Answer. It was carried by 271 against 108. The Lord Mayor, Alderman Trecothick & the two Sheriffs avowed and supported the Remonstrance.

Wor

Margate. 1st July 1770.

My dear Mac.

I arrived yesterday at this enchanting Place, to pay a Visit to my Wife & Daughter Bess, who have been bathing in the Ocean about a Fortnight. I assure You this Town is wonderfully improved, since We saw it about five Years ago; a fine Assembly Room, a good Tavern, a Coffee house, and a Billiard Table, to say nothing of the Church, which, I observe, has been repaired & beautified. Yet after all, I doubt whether there be a more detestable Spot in any part of the habitable Globe. I have got a Letter from our honest Cousin Turbut, which it is absolutely impossible for me to answer by this Packet, unless it should happen to be detained a

London 14th May. 1768.

My dear Friend and Brother.

\+ \+ \+

I would not upon any Account let a Jacquet go without a Bit for the Lion; tho' I have little more to do than to give You an Account of your Commissions, my own great Care., Punctuality &c.ª The Books and Stockings are inclosed in a deal Box to the Care of Mr. Solly, to be forwarded by the first Opportunity. Mr. Chandler seemed [illegible] with your Letter, tho' I believe not

The remainder of this page has been cut out of the Letter Book

War Office: 9th. July. 1768.

My dear Friend.

You are in my debt many a Letter; but I do not stand upon Forms, and if I had any thing to say, You should have it without Ceremony. — I think every body you have in this Country are as well as You could wish them to be, for as your Father & Mother do not keep you out of your Estate, I suppose the period, to which they may be permitted to exist, is indifferent to You. — We have had a Packet & ships but no Letter. I am anxious enough to know something of Your present Situation, & what it is likely to be, if You can form any Guess yourself. Every thing here I believe remains just as You left it.

Harris and Rutherford have broken into Covent Garden Playhouse, and taken possession by main

London 13th August 1768.

My dear Brother.

I have got some Letters from you at New York, dated some time in June. I did not doubt that you would be well received and hospitably entertained there. I have a Letter from Atchy Thompson, by which I perceive he intends leaving that Country in a few Months, & that he has made a tolerable Fortune there. I am really astonished that he is not married,

Rutherford is ruined & run away, but then the King of Denmark is just come over. You shall have some more of Harris's Writings by the first Opportunity I am afraid all is wrong in that Quarter. It is really so hot, that you must take No will for the

London 5th Octr. 1768.

My dear Mac.

The first thing I have to tell you is good News. Your Sister was brought to bed on Sunday night of a Boy. Her time was very short, tho' painfull, and they are both likely to do well. I left her after eight in the Evening, without any appearance of going into Labour, and, returning before twelve, found the Affair over. Your Father and Mother are out of their wits with Joy, & as for Patty, it is sufficient to say that this Event contributes but little to the Recovery of her Intellects. Her Letter to me upon the occasion is a Curiosity, & so I send it to you inclosed. — I am now to thank you for your Letter of the 17th of August. Pliny himself could not write better. We were apprehensive that a p[illegible]quet had been lost. Your Account of the Moravians is plea:

London. 2d Novr 1768.

My dear Brother.

I have received your Letter of the 24th of September by Ship, & beg you will be very civil to Mrs Francis upon occasion of the Fruit, which is not yet come to hand. As to the Indian Dresses, the Masquerade being over, I shall have but few Opportunities of wearing them. In consequence of what you say about Tickets, I have bought two this day in which I propose that we should have a joint & equal Interest. The Numbers are – 47,823. – & 59.896. They cost 28t. 11s. – so now go to prayers for our Success. Mr has had an Execution in his house, & I fear is ruined. a natural Consequence.

Post Chaise & Country house. I really have nothing more to say. Besides you will find enough to

Tuesday

my dear L^d

your heart may be at ease about your picture the Princess will have a copy refuses with abundance of mighty fine speeches to you & the picture is gone to Angelicas who must keep it some time to finish it as high as the original. Mrs Middleton has been here about the painter & says nothing at all was the matter, she only wanted to talk with me about the picture that the princess did not know it was ready & that she had not shewn my letter to her royal H^s she had left it upstairs but when she dress'd her she told her we had sent to know how she did but there was nothing else in the letter. I happen to know she kept my man 'til four o'th clock in order to shew my letter when Ld Berkeley should be gone & that the answer must come from the Princess herself however I never enter'd into that part. I have the gout in my foot & have a party at home to day. they say the Bishop of Derry is coming to annul his match & that he has a living witness to produce the King hardly spoke to the Bride

the

Queen a little more, L.d Bristol did not appear Augustus chose to be there & said aloud he came to take one look at his widow. she had a white & silver & pearl Lappets w.ch were the most curious piece of workmanship that ever were seen they look'd like the finest brussels point nobody ever saw such before, the pearl gown is not finish'd. Politics subside & nobody talks of any thing but the Chudleigh farce w.ch may end in a tragedy. the Duke of Kingston gets drunk every day with M.rs Mashan w.ch must be to drown care for that vice has never been reckon'd amongst his faults.

I am your most affec.te &c.

you will have a visit from M.r Aubrey I complimented him much upon his speaking

my L.d Bristol was at Court & wore his favour

Jan 12th 1775

you have left my body behind but my heart is with you indeed you cannot not think how unhappy I was last night to see you so uneasy, if any thing troubles you I always wish to take my share for I cannot help fancying what I bear will lighten your load if this [redacted] should put you into any distress there is no scheme you can propose that I will not with chearfulness come into even to the living at Eastbury till Stowe is finished wch I think we may do with a much less expence more especially if we come to London but for a little time this is no grimace but comes from a heart full of sensibility & anxiety with regard to every thing that relates to you if you are not convinced of this you do not know your truly affec.te little wife

H. Temple

This kind offer was quite unnecessary as my circumstances are so great.

Monday night
Aug. 3. 1767

My Dear Brother

Many thanks for the communication of the various Dispatches; I will make no comments upon the various moving Lords of intelligence, which we daily not to say hourly receive, but nothing can surpass the nonsense of laying to my charge the breach of a negotiation in which you & I were only passive & in which we proceeded with perhaps unprecedented fairness & generosity. I am sorry to hear of the complaint in your eyes & am ever your most affectionate

Temple

Georges skin will not mortify & he has almost recovered the mortification of his Arm through the

1. Miss Chamber, afterwards Lady Temple.

I don't understand what you mean by indifference. I think I have performd all I promis'd you; in permitting you freely to discourse to me

Your humble Servant
Jana Chamber

2. Mrs Grenville, afterwards Lady Temple

one thing above all others must allways make me happy be where I will, & that is the knowing you are my husband tho' I can't be perfectly easy while you are absent

3. Mrs Grenville, afterwards Lady Temple

the black boys dined with Lady Betty last Sunday, & we carryed them to the Duke of Dorsets in the afternoon of w.ch they were much pleased.

Lady Temple 1772

the house sat late the opposition differ'd amongst themselves
& the Court was triumphant, there was some good speaking
Mr Hampden spoke against the whole of the bill, upon the
whole a spirited speech. there was a great deal of scurrility
thrown out against my Ld Mansfield calling him Jacobite
& saying he instill'd things into the K—s mind that he might
make use of for his own purposes to set another family
upon the T—e there were two speeches of this kind & no
mortal defended him.

Anna Temple

Whitehall October 29th 1745

Dear Younge

I am extremely obliged to you for your letter tho' wrote to me in English, must have been, to judge of it by its politeness, translated from the French. you know enough of me to remember that I am not given to compliments, so that I must content myself in telling you, that I am greatly pleased in still having a place in your thoughts and that I most heartily congratulate you on your Escape in that fatal day to this Country; who has been to blame time must shew, the General is suspected of want of Conduct, those nearest to him in Command not entirely cleared as yet in the minds of people, but all agree in the scandalous, and base behaviour of the Private men, and at the same time do justice to the Courage and resolution of their officers after they were abandon'd into shamefull a manner. The whole affair is to be enquired into and if any are guilty I trust they will be punish'd, but that will be but poor satisfaction. The letter you wrote from Edinburgh never reach'd me, and that to wright most probably met with the same fate. Recte is now Captain Lieutenant and upon Crutches, he was shot thro' the foot at Fontenoi, and

tho' he has saved his leg, he has not yet much use of it. Socelyn is well and at Dartford encamp'd, I came from thence on Sunday pour briller a la Cour demain Cap.n Sailly is just arrived from Captivity, his wounds are well but his beauty rather decreas'd, the rest of your friends go on as usual, but we have many new faces among us since Turnip gathering was your trade. The attention of every body is entirely upon the North and we wait with great impatience to see the Effect the arrival of Marshal Wade ~~[illegible]~~ in that Country will have upon the rebels; by their not having yet march'd Southward it seems as if they had laid the thoughts of it aside, some go so far as to imagine that they will retire towards the Highlands upon his approach without venturing a battle, but I think as their force is non equal to what ever they can hope hereafter to draw together that they will engage him at all events, and if they should have success God knows what the Consequence would be, France would not then delay a moment the making a diversion in some part of England, their Coast is crowded with Troops, and there are now above forty sail of small vessels at Dunkirke which may be designed for an Embarkation. The House of Commons sate yesterday till seven o'clock, Mr Hume Campbell and Mr Pitt moved for enquiring immediately into the

No. 1 Facsimile of Letter from Lord George Sackville to Captain Younge 1745.

Causes of the Progress of the Rebels, but the motion was thought a little premature as the truth of these Affairs was not so easily come at during the rebellion, so that upon the division the motion was rejected by 194 to 112.

we have had the misfortune of losing a sixty Gun Ship with all her Crew upon the Coast of France towards Brest, it is suppos'd to be the York man of war, she was giving chase to Eleven French Merchant men Convoy'd by two frigates, they all went too near the shoar, and the wind blowing full upon it ~~that~~ none of them escaped, and not a French man or an Englishman was saved. I hope soon to hear some good news from you, and that Mefricus les Dragons have retrieved their honour by my saying nothing of myself you will Conclude that I have no Complaints.

I am Dear Younge
yours very sincerely
George Sackville

Stoneland Lodge July 30th 1767

Sir

I am greatly obliged to you for permitting Mr Ashley to send me so very distinct and satisfactory an account of the late Extraordinary Negotiation, and I cannot omit the earliest opportunity of returning you my sincere thanks for your attention to me upon that occasion.

I am persuaded that the part you have taken will meet with the approbation of all your friends and as far as my intelligence goes, those who are not personally acquainted with you do justice to your Principles, and to your disinterested Conduct in making public measures the great object of your Consideration.

I shall be happy in every opportunity of assuring you that I am with the sincerest Regard and Respect Sir

Your faithfull Humble Servant

Geo: Sackville

Charles Street 21st. Decr. 1771

This Morning, My dear Francis, I desired Lord Barrington's permission to retire from the War Office – My request was readily and, which is mortifying, without one civil Speech granted – I am persuaded, whenever You please, You may obtain the same permission on as easy terms – He ~~[illegible]~~ mentioned Smith as the proper Successor, but upon my saying that I believed he would not like the place he instantly took to his friend Bradshaw, and in full possession of that pleasing Idea I left him – He afterwards came into my room about some trifling matter, and finding Col. Roy there soon went off – What would I not give to settle a certain Point! adieu I am and never can be otherwise than

most affectionately
Yours
D'Oyly

Cavendish Square Feb. 26. 1772

Dear Sir,

Mr. Marsh has desired to remain where he is, it will therefore be necessary that I should look out for a first Clerk now a stranger to the Office. I came late to day thither, which prevented my letting you my present Plan, which Mr Cramer will communicate to you. The matter will be known to so many persons that it cannot remain a Secret; I must therefore remind you of the Letter which I mentioned to you at my house. I hope you will be able to compose it so, as to answer my ends, with no inconvenience or detriment to your self. I have no objection to your mentioning any of those things which

have given you unessiness heretofore, if you add (what I hope you may add with great sincerity) that I have since made you easy as to those points. It will be absolutely necessary that I should tell some few persons the occasion of my loving you, and I had much rather do it in your words than in mine. I am ever dear Sir

Most faithfully yours

Barrington.

Dear Sir

Last night I met your friend Mr Sutton and was happy to find he had Mentioned you so early to Ld Suffolk — I believe his Lop had your Name before any other application was made — I saw Mr Wederburn this Morning who told me some Absurd applications had been made. But he seemed perfectly Satisfyed with the account he had of you from Mr D'Oyly who spoke of you with great Warmth of friendship. And I flatter myself Mr Wederburn will not be wanting to Serve you. I am Dear Sir Yrs Geo. Ross

Conduit Street
28 May 1772

* 27. Oct.r 1773.

Dear Sir,

On my coming hither this Night I found a Letter which informs me that my friend Mr. Hedge, whom I have not seen for many years, & whom I have long and impatiently expected, will be at my house in the County early tomorrow. I should be exceedingly mortified at missing the pleasure of waiting on you; a pleasure which I suppose you too will receive, & which I came down principally for the sake of enjoying. If none but my friend Mr. Burke be of the party & that any other time would be equally convenient to you, it would be cowardly to me to postpone the gratification I proposed to myself. But if it should be otherwise I shall lay aside every other consideration that of my attention to you. I am with great Truth & Regard

Dear Sir

your most obed.t

& humble Ser.t

Broad Sanctuary. Wednesday Night. Edm.d Burke

I can, if it suits you to postpone the engagement, give notice to Mr. Burke.

* This Date is an addition in the handwriting of Francis.

Mr Boyd's.

Mr Woodfall will oblige his Correspondent
by keeping the first Place in tomorrow's
Public Adv. / about half a Column, or a little
more, / for a Paper on an immediate
Subject. — He will send it in two or three
hours at farthest, — or another time
before Dinner tomorrow, — which Mr W. will
please to insert in the same manner on
Wednesday. Norfolk St. May 4th —

Fac-Simile of a Letter of Mr Boyd.

I have been in some respects very unlucky in my Country Tour:- Beacas=field not at home, - & Cookham come to London. Burgh lodged there you know, - & I went thither to see him. In others, I have been equally fortunate, being very agreeably receiv'd & entertained at Mr Ryves's at Windsor - at Sheridan's rural Retire=ment, where I made a joint Visit to Father & Son, & at McGwire's, who very heartily commemorated you & your fair Hostess:- to whom I beg my best respects. - These little excursions were pedestrian & very pleasant; the Weather being 'till today very fine. - Mr Burke is expected at home tomorrow, when I mean to complete my Visit to him:- & to manage it for two or three days, just as circumstances are: for having come to the Country for that purpose, I was unwilling to leave it unfulfill'd. Adieu -

Hugh Boyd

Mr Horne Tooke's. I am well pleased and perfectly satisfied. If you will sign a fair Copy of the inclosed and cannot get Mr C. to present it for you; send it to me, and I will get it presented.

Whatever happens, do you persevere and persist, and wonder at nothing. All stands well.

Mr. Farrer,

My Servant informs me of a Paper left at my House which he carried to you, & about which you said it would be necessary to write to me — Be so good as to let me know what it is, & if you want to see me, call on me as soon as you can, as I go out of Town to-day

Yrs &c.

W. G. Hamilton

Friday.

Hond Sir,

I told You in my last Letter that one great Object of my pursuit had been Confidence; & that I had Reason to believe Mr. Delany thought my Diffidence, if not got the better of, would be of great prejudice to Me in my Profession. I heard from Him the other Day, & his Letter confirms what I believ'd. I had told Him, in a former Letter upon the Subject of the Debates in the House of Commons, that the Speeches of the Members in general disgusted Me; or that I was disappointed. In Answer to this He says. "I do not wonder at "your Disappointment. It is no small advantage "to be thus disappointed. It enables one to form a "less fallacious Estimate of Men & Things, & encourages a Man to exert his own powers with less Diffidence." I could not help applying it to my self. I dare say He intended that I should. It will give You pleasure to hear that He writes to Me in

Terms of the warmest Affection- there is that Character on all his Letters, which distinguishes what comes from the Heart from mere professions, let them be ever so strong- I find that He grows more & more fond of Retirement every Day- indeed He tells Me that it is his great point - - - inertibus Horis
Ducere sollicita jucunda Oblivia Vita-

From some Hints that He drops, I fear He has not that Weight with the Government, which both his Abilities & his Virtues entitle Him to. If They disregard Him, they injure Themselves, & do not even mortify Him- There is a Point in Life, at which ever Ambition must gives Way to the Love of Ease; & That Point He has arrived at.

And now for Mr. Francis- But I must first assure You that I am very far from ranking the Gallantries of a marry'd Man among the innocent affections of human Nature- I should as soon think of reconciling Antipathies.

I know Mr. Francis as thoroughly, I believe, as any Man upon Earth- I know Him to have many Virtues, among which

are very strong domestick Attachments, such as a Libertine is incapable of- In this part of the World conjugal Fidelity is look'd upon to be beneath a Man of Liberal Sentiments; & that Consideration will, in some Degree, excuse ~~any~~ the Infidelity of any Man, who has received the whole of his Education here- if Mr. Francis has ~~been~~ fallen into Indiscretions ~~of this kind~~ I have not been of his party- Young Men over a Bottle will say a thousand ridiculous, extravagant Things, that have no Foundation in Truth, that were never thought of before, & that ought to be sacred afterwards- If then your Author has heard Mr. Francis say any Thing loose in the unguarded Hours of convivial Mirth, I do not wonder at it; but I wonder at his repeating it, when it could answer no good Purpose, especially in a Country where Virtue, & Vice are measured upon a ~~different~~ different Scale, from that which is us'd here. Education not only forms, but almost changes Nature- Nature is every where the same; Custom & Fashion every where contrary in Opinions between different Nations- In short, this Consideration will reduce that which would be a great Crime in Me, to a trifling Indiscretion in an Englishman-

I have a thousand other Things to say; but I put off writing so long, that I have not time to say any thing more now. By the first Opportunity You shall hear from Me again. I am very well. Tell my Mother & all at Home that I beg to be remembered by them, & believe Me to be Yr. most affe. Son

Richard Pilgrim

Middle Temple
Oct. 17th. 1770

Letter
From R. Pilgrim
Oct 17 1770

Dear Francis

Phil.a Nov. 10th 1771.

About a Month ago I arrived at this Place. The Governor came Passenger ~~came Pas-~~ ~~senger~~ in the Ship with Me, & the good People here have been constantly making Feasts for him, & his Friends, among whom I have the Honour to rank myself. You will suppose I have been very happy. I expected to be so. But in Truth, I have been disappointed. The Dissipations of this Country do not agree with Me. Eating & Drinking You know I love: & yet, believe Me, I should be happier in fasting, ~~&~~ than feasting. The Pleasures of the Table are but of an inferior Kind. I never valued them but as preparatory to greater Joys; Joys, which this Country does not afford.

Without having a View to any particular Person, I begin to suspect You will win the Wager of 5 Guineas.

I am yet entirely unsettled. In a Week or two I shall go in Search of some Spot to pitch my Tent upon. When I have found a Place to my Mind, I will set myself seriously down to Business. England I certainly have taken my Leave of for many Years. Indeed I fear the Chances are against my ever seeing it again. The Thought of endless Banishment makes Me miserable; insomuch that, if I did not think it would be a Sin to forget the Favours I have received from You & Mrs Francis, I should wish more heartily for a Cup of good Lethe, than ever I did for a Bottle of Burgundy.

The first Man of my Acquaintance I met on the Shore, was our Friend Mackrabie. If one may judge from his Looks, he is in perfect Health. I would fain keep him here 'till the Spring, for his own Sake, as well as mine: But he seems determined on a Winter's Passage.

I must not forget to thank You for introducing Me to Argenis. I am quite in Love with her; & I think the Romance, of which She is the Heroine, by far the most chaste and elegant I ever met with. The Style I am delighted with. It is, in my Opinion, a very happy Imitation of Petronius.

You have so many Correspondents, that I cannot press You upon the Subject of writing. When You do write, be not sparing of Politics.

I beg to be remembered by Mrs Francis, & the good old Pair, her Father & Mother. My best Wishes attend the Holders & Corsthwaites. I could fill a Page with Compliments to Fitzpatrick, Godfrey &c but I will not trouble you. I am most sincerely yours.

Richard Tilghman

Philadelphia. 3d. April. 1772.
& 22d. May.

Dear Francis,

You will perhaps be surpriz'd at having heard from Me but once, since I came to America; but I have a melancholy Excuse to make. Soon after my I sent You my former Letter, I went to pay a Visit to my Friends in Maryland, and, in the Midst of my Jollity among them, receiv'd the Account of my Mother's lying at the Point of Death. Think, my Friend, how I was cut down! — I instantly set out for Philadelphia; but it was too late. I got Home just time enough to follow her to the Grave. Poor Fitzpatrick! I heard of his Death in the Midst of my Distress. Had my Mind been at Ease, when I got the News, I should have been shock'd indeed; but as Things were, I had not a Tear to spare him.

You have been expecting Mackrabie a long Time; & here he is still. Tomorrow he is to set out for Newyork. He does not even now, know certainly when he will embark for England; but takes it for granted he shall be able to get away in Sept, or at least 6 Weeks at furthest. I wish I had not mentioned him in my former Letter. I gave You Reason to expect him long ago; & I am sure his not appearing must have made our old Friends at Fulham unhappy. I have your Letter of the fourth of Dec. open before Me. You tell Me of Letters between the living, and the Dead, and bid Me take which Side I please; as if I had it in my Power to chuse.

* The whole of this Date is an endorsement in the handwriting of Francis. Tilghman's Dating is at the foot of the 4th Page of this Letter.

How can You insult Me?- You know I am, and must be among the Dead- So Mrs Francis is about to have a new Child- Juno Lucina, fer Opem!- This is the first Time I have prayd since I saw You; and, as I am so little troublesome, I have a Right to expect my Prayer will be heard. I have not drunk Lethe since We parted; but I tell You again it would have been better if I had. I cannot help measuring the Things in this Country by an English Scale; and when I find them fall short (which is always the Case) I am cursedly vexed. I wonder You should be surprisd at the Holdens breaking with You. The old Fellow is a Hound, & his Wife knows no more of Good Breeding, than the Name. You must excuse me for not abusing them- They were always very civil to Me, & I must not be ungratefull. It runs strangely in my Head that, if Miss Polly and You were to have a private Meeting, You would not find it impossible to bring about a Reconciliation, at least with one of the Family. I am sorry You found Beth dull, at the same Time that I feel a sort of Pride in thinking ~~that~~ the Want of my Company was, in some Measure, the Occasion of it's being less agreeable than usual. I cannot help laughing at your Account of the young Gentleman with the Cockade. It may be my Fate, one Day or other, to undergo the Disgrace of a Whipping; I, being a peaceable Man, I would never have

Recourse to Swords, & Pistols, if my Honour could be repair'd
by any other Means. Now I would gladly know the Form of
that verbal Acknowledgment, which a Soldier, and a young
Soldier too, could decently accepted as a Satisfaction for a publice
Flogging. Why do You apply to Me to get You Slaves?

I was in Hopes that You had given over all Thoughts of your
Indian Expedition long ago. I could never be reconcil'd to the Scheme.
My Opinion is that, all Things consider'd, the Chances would be
greatly against you ever returning to your own Country. You are
a Stranger to the Miseries of a Voyage by Sea, & can have no Idea
of the Climate of India, the Heats I mean. They would be intolerable
to a Man of your Impatience. What is to become of Bagg and
Rosenhagen? — You talk of an Interval, in which it will be impos-
sible to raise Money in England but with a Brace of Pistols. Bagg will never
think of raising Money by such an Expedient: But it is too probable
that one of these Days, he will pull a Trigger, to prevent his ever
paying Money — I am glad to hear of Stephens' Promotion; it is thro'
You, I presume. When You see him, pray give my Compliments
to him, & tell him I wonder he has never answer'd my Letter;
It was written at his own Request. Do You affect the Company
of Jack as much as You did some Time ago? —

I can scarcely believe what You say of Luttrell. He must be a Fool indeed to resent the Treatment of his Sister, in ~~such a~~ the Manner ~~[illegible]~~ You mention. I observe with what Triumph You mention the Circumstance of the thorough Defeat of Opposition. If the King does suffer Lord North to fall a Sacrifice to the Bedfords, He is not the Man I took him for. But why do I talk thus to You? We could never hit it in Politics. Whether it was that You had too great a Lean to the Court, or for what other Reason, I know not.

Has Mr. D'Oyley another Place? He would not willingly give up the War-Office, I suppose, without an Equivalent; & his Connexions are such, that I think he could never have been turn'd out. And now I do most heartily thank You for the Trouble You take in writing to Me; I have Gratitude, & little else to give You in Return. You bid Me be minute. My good Fellow, the Misery of it is, that I have Nothing to be minute about, at least Nothing that would interest You. What would it signify to tell You that it is a dull Time for Lawyers, that I spend more Money than I get by my Profession, that I ride, like Horace, on a Horse, Mantica cur Lumbos &c.? If it was not, that there are some pretty Women here, among whom I now and then spend an Evening, I should be ready to hang myself. God bless You and all your Connexions. I see Mack almost every Day, & We never meet without talking of You. Farewell

Sis licet felix, ubicunq; mavis. but never think again of Indr.

Phil: Apl 3d 1772. Richard Tilghman

I am very impatient for your next Letter. You may guess wh

* The rest of this Letter has been cut out of the Letter Book.

My dear Francis,

I have receiv'd your Packet of the 17th of July- You are very tenacious of your Epigram, I observe- You contend for it as if your Reputation, as a Poet, depended on it. I did not condemn the Composition- I only said it was not an Original; & I sey so still: but yet I am ready to allow that You can weave Originals, because in the School of the Graces, by Genius attended, Belinda improves ev'ry Hour.

I have perused the Regulation Bill carefully, & am of Opinion that it will answer all your Purposes effectually- It gives You vast Power, & a vast Salary- As for the Justice, or Policy of the Thing, I know Nothing about them- But how did You get this Appointment?- It is miraculous to Me that a Man should resign his Office in 1772, & in '73, without any Change of the Ministry, be advanc'd in so very extraordinary a Manner. Your Merit & Abilities I sure always ready to acknowledge, Sir- But I was never taught to think much of Lord North's Virtue, or Discernment- His Treatment of You lies, in some Measure, redeem'd him in my Opinion

I deliver'd your Letter to the Colonel. He will manage Matters so, that Philippi & Macedon shall not cost You a Farthing in Quit Rents- the grounds he will himself explain to You. He

means to write on the Subject by this Packet - I sent You the Francis Crest with my last Letter. I hope it will enable You to find the Arms - It will please You, no Doubt, as You are so violently fond of Things rampant. If You meet with the Arms, I should be glad You would let Me know what they are - I have another Favour to ask. Will You make Me a Present of Francis's Horace? - I could buy it here, but that is not what I want. It will gratify my Pride to receive it from You. If my Father, or I should ever write a Book, the Favour shall be returned. I recollect that some Time before I left England, I put my Name at your Instance to a Subscription for a new Edition of Bourne's Poems, & paid Kelly a Guinea to his Daughter - Is the Book out yet? -

I do not wonder at your shuddering at the Thoughts of your Passage. Patient as You are, You will be sufficiently tired of walking the Deck, before You get half Way over. But I suppose You will touch at several Places on your Way. That will be a great Relief ~~to You~~. I charge You not to suffer Mackrabie to play the Quack with You. He is a mighty Man for Physic; & will be offering You Doses every Day; but don't You take them: if You do, he will work You to Death before You get to Fort William.

I am not quite so fond of Law as You say my Cousin is - However I read a good Deal - As for Business, I have but little.

Facsimile of Letter from R. Tilghman to Francis September 29 1773

I am a young Man, & must be contented to sit awhile in the Back-Row.
My Father is as generous an old Fellow as ever liv'd, & lets Me have
what Money I want; so that, in that Respect, I live quite at my Ease.
If he had Sir Samuel's Estate, & I was his only Son, he would disin:
herit Me, if I thought of practising Law, or indeed of any Thing
but spending Money like a Gentleman — I join You heartily
in wishing We could drink a Bottle together before You leave
England. I could find a great Deal to say to You — But no Matter:
We will meet again, one Day or other, & be happy — In the
mean Time, Sis licet felix, ubicunq; mavis,
Et memor nostri — vivas —
Give my best Love to Mrs ~~[illegible]~~ Francis, & my little Cousins —
When You are gone, I will write to Mrs Francis. How shall I
direct to her? — Farewell, my dear Friend, & believe Me to be
with the greatest Affection.
Yrs
Richard Tilghman.

Philadelphia
Septr 29th 1773.

Fac-simile Letter of Mrs C. Dayrolle, wife of the dearest Friend, and constant companion of Lord Chesterfield.

Dr Sir

I flatter myself this letter will not be unwelcome to you as it encloses one from the Dutchess of Aremberg for you I even think that without it you would be glad to hear the Dayrolles are alive and well and hope you will give us the pleasure of hearing that you are so likewise as you are the source of news I can write you none but what you have perhaps read yourself - domestick occurrences are so well set forth in the news paper that I will not take up your time to mention any. Our friend General Webb is in town looks extremely well

and in good spirits Mr. Dayrolle desire
me to assure you of his best Compts
my little Tom your Godson salutes
you and am D.r Sir

Your sincere Friend
and Hum.e Serv.t
E Dayrolle

London Feb.y 7.e 6.th 1760

Facsimile of Letter from Thomas (afterwards 2nd Lord) Lyttelton to his Father June 18th 1772 Lyttelton No. 1.

My Dear Lord.

It is unnecessary for me to tell you I am as happy as it is possible for me to be; if any thing could add to my present felicity it would be your Lordsh.s Company. — Lord Temple's letter was equaly agreable to Mrs Peach & myself, I own I ever was proud of his presentiment in my favor. My dearest little woman is every thing to me; The sweetest Companion the most sensible friend, & will make the best of wives she unites almost contradictory excellencies adieu my dear Lord I remain ever

Leaseowes Jun 18: 1773 obliged, your most dutiful & most obliged, Son Thyttelton

Leascowes ye 26th June 1772

My dear Lord

I was this Day so for-
tunate as to lead Miss Peach to the
Altar. I need not tell your Lordship
that the Impatience, & ardor of a Lover
was one chief cause that determined
my fair Bride; your Lordp's letter was
another motive that operated on her
gentle mind. — She is a Woman
of exceeding generosity of spirit & Prin-
ciple. — Nothing, my dear Lord

Leasowes 27th June 1772

My dear Lord.

I promised your Lordsh
yesterday to write to you by this days Post
as I thought you would be desirous of
knowing what articles had been drawn
& what Promises I had entered into. The
only article settled by me previous to my
marriage was the settlement of a Jointure
on my Wife in case she survived me so long
as I was enabled to settle it which is
only from the time of your Lordships decease.
This settlement is 1600£ a year which is
all that is in my power to appoint. I

Facsimile of Letter from Thomas 2nd Lord Lyttelton to Sir Richd Lyttelton 28th October 1773.

Lyttelton No. 4.

I thank you my dear Sir for your three letters, for unanswered as they have been I must not lay the fault upon the Post but upon my own Indolence, or rather Ennui; for I have suffered great Ennui in seeing the vast expence that Hagley runs me into, & the little Pleasure it affords me. I love the Country at times, but I consider it as a Place for retirement, & am surprised to find myself 130 Miles from the Metropolis in an immense Palace without Company, & surrounded like a Deposed Nabob by a set of Black-Guards. — I have just made up the last years House-keeping accounts.

258 Note. "The date is at the foot of the 4th Page of this Letter, "Auley 28th October 1773," without any stop.

Mastricht 27th Novr 1771.

Dear Sir.

I have this moment received a letter from Messrs Biddulph & Cocks in which he informs me that you sent him one to be immediately forwarded, but that letter is not as yet come to Hand as it was directed to me at Douai. In case I shou'd miss this letter I beg you would send ~~me~~ a duplicate directed to me at Liège or send it inclosed to Messrs Cocks who will forward it — I cannot conclude without returning you a thousand thanks for the many favors I have received from you, & assure you that nobody prizes you

friendship more than Dear Sir

your most obliged &
obedient Servt

T Lyttelton

I beg you would present my respects to your
amiable Wife

To
William Roberts
Esqr
at
Bewdley

1771

Facsimile of part of Letter from Captain (afterwards General) Lee to his Sister 1758.
(From Girdlestone's "Facts &c")

Lee No. 1.

We who are wounded, are still at Albany, waiting for the Convoy of these Regiments, in order to March Up to the Lake. My Wounds, are almost heal'd. Dick Mathers head makes a great Noise Upon this Continent; it is Look'd Upon As the Greatest Prodigy. A Musket ball was Absolutely flatten'd against his Forehead just in the manner that You may have seen a Bullet of Clay, When it has been thrown Against a Stone Wall. I have advised him to bequeath both his Head & Ball to The Royal Society, As a much greater Curiosity, than they were ever before, presented With.

London July ye 21st 1763.

Sir.

I take the liberty to acquaint You that the bearer of this Mr Millington was an Ensign in the Regt of which I was Major, and that He is of an unexceptionable character both as an Officer and Gentleman.

I am, Sir, Your Most Obedt Servt

Chas. Lee

Facsimile of part of Letter from General Lee to Sir Charles Davers. 1774.
(From Girdlestone's "Facts &c.")

Lee No. 3.

certainly are to be justify'd by every Law human and divine You will ask where will they find Generals but I ask what Generals have their Tyrants? In fact in this respect the match will be pretty equal I have mark'd in the margin of the papers I send you

Send the printed papers

What You have done to L'd Shanat

Facsimile of Dr Wilmot's writing in 1767, from his Life by Olivia Wilmot Serres. Wilmot No. 1

[illegible]
To C: F:
[illegible] March 17th

[illegible]

I have this day completed my last letter of Ju-s
[illegible] and sent the same to Ld S-ne. Wm.
March 17th 67.

[illegible]

[illegible]

O. Wilmot
10.28

Facsimile of Dr Wilmot's writing from his Life by Olivia Wilmot Serres.

Why did the sun put on mourning? Why were the Graves opend but for a Funeral ? Why did the Earth quake? Why were the rocks rent? Why did the frame of Nature shake, but because the God of Nature died?- A

We may speak ill of a thane, after we have gain competent knowledge & formed a right Judgment of his Character — provided we think it necessary to detect him either because we think the publick good requires it, or least any particular Person whose good we have at heart should be impeded by his Company or overreached by his cunning. But when, as one expresses it, there are no Reasons to make a good man speak out, there are always reasons of Prudence to make a wise man hold his tongue B

Facsimile of Letter from Mr De Lolme to Mr Thellusson. November 19. 1798.

DE LOLME

to Mr THELLUSSON late LORD RENDLESHAM.

Sir

The Pamphlet is to be 37 pages; which is seven more than any mentioned in the advertisements; and that is the reason why it will be ready only next Friday morning. Every page is printed; but the work wants drying, stitching, and being kept in the flattening press for 24 hours. You may have any number of copies by sending your Servant as early as you please next Friday to the Printer's, Mr Spilsbury, N. 57 Snow hill, about 50 yards beyond St Sepulchre's Church, on the same side of the way

I began writing on Monday the 24 of September, so that the Pamphlet will have been written printed and published in less which is certainly no waste of time than two months; & I mentioned it to You before: I could not safely begin to fix any thing upon paper sooner than that time: the danger was too great, in that subject and question, of saying either too much or too little.

I have the honour to be &c

Nov. 19. 1798

P.S. If you want any number of copies, and get them from me, ~~that is to say, from the Printer's~~, it will save the groats ~~out of the~~ Shillings, or Publisher's fees.

Seal used by De Lolme.

Dear Sir

Salt Office Tuesday
6 Jany 1767.

I write to you one word only to acknowledge the favor of Yours of the 4th. I have writ to Mr Sunderland the Collector at Newcastle, to say that if he will send me up a form of appointment I will sign it immediately in favor of the Person he recommended, during Pleasure, Upon having proper Security which Clover gave me & which was only his bond. I have desired Sunderland to take the proper Steps to get the Quarters Money from Clovers Executor. The reason of my preferring Sunderlands Recommendation (as you left me at Liberty) was that I think Sunderland can be of use to me in many Enquiries which I propose making on my going there in Summer, & he is a Person of the man-having a good private Fortune, I can overlook the Person appointed from time to time.

Mr Ryder talked of writing to you to remind you that the Day of Trials is fixed

sevenight the sixteenth of this month, & likewise to suggest to you the bringing Hindley's State of the Office in case it should be wanted. I do not hear a Syllable of Public News — Ld George Lenox is to come in for the County of Sussex & Genl Keppel for Chichester Peter Taylor for Cockermouth, Jenkinson is I understand chosen for appleby — Ld Loone has been at Woburn these holydays — Vide Gazetteer of Yesterday & to day. I am extremely glad to hear that you all continue well beg my Respects to Mrs Grenville & Compts to Messrs George & Thommy if with you.

I am Dear Sir with the truest Respects Your Most Obedient & most humble Servt Charles Lloyd.

Rt Honble George Grenville Esqr

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SIR PHILIP FRANCIS.

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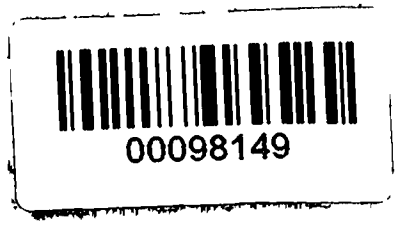

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